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ABSTRACT

This collection of papers on the intercultural communication between the United States and Japan is divided into three sections. The first section, "Introduction to Intercultural Communication," describes the background of the relationship between Japan and the United States, the history of the study of intercultural communication, and some of the problems related to it--barriers that make communication between Americans and Japanese more difficult. The second section, "Influences on Culture and Cultural Influences," includes seven papers on various aspects of communication between Americans and Japanese. The third section, "Japanese Students' Knowledge of American Culture," is made up of five studies related to Japanese students' contact with Americans and American culture, their knowledge of American culture, and the problems that they face in the United States. The book also includes a bibliography compiled for teachers of English in Japan who are interested in the influence of culture and intercultural communication on language teaching and learning. (MS)

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INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

Kenji Kitao, PhD and S. Kathleen Kitao, PhD

- *Research supporting the necessity of intercultural communication in English education
- *Many aspects of cultural differences between Japanese and Americans
- *Presenting intercultural communication theory based on studies
- *An extensive bibliography on 23 categories of intercultural communication
- *Results of research by Dr Kenji Kitao and Dr Kathleen Kitao over a period of ten years

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Kenji Kitao, PhD

S. Kathleen Kitao, PhD

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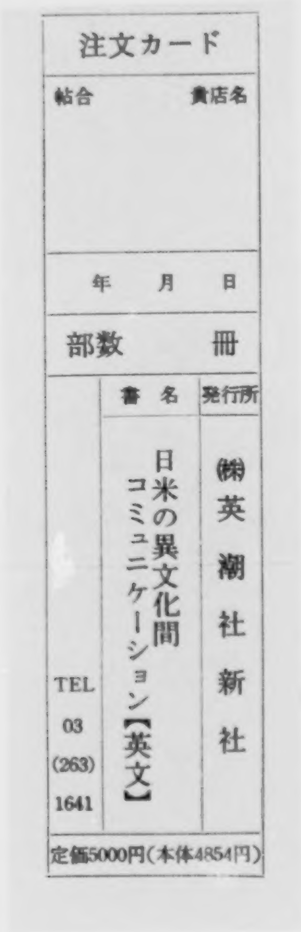

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PREFACE

The relationship between Japan and the United States has been an important one for several decades. In fact, Mike Mansfield, former US Ambassador to Japan, has described it as the most important bilateral relationship in the world. The importance of this relationship was demonstrated when President George Bush made his decision to represent the United States at the funeral of the late Emperor. This is to be his first trip abroad as President, and the United States was among the first countries to announce its representative to the funeral.

In recent decades, contact between Americans and Japanese has increased greatly across a variety of areas, including economic, technical/scientific, interpersonal, and academic. Americans and Japanese are coming into contact in greater and greater numbers, and there is every likelihood that this trend will continue. There has recently been pressure on Japan to take a position of leadership in world affairs commensurate with her economic position. This would involve closer contact and increased communication with people of many countries, including the United States.

Even though the Japanese have more contact with the people of the United States than those of any other country, Japanese people do not know very much about the United States. As these contacts between Americans and Japanese increase, the potential for misunderstanding increases. This misunderstanding can be caused not only by language barriers but also by cultural differences between the two countries. The purpose of this book is to increase the understanding of these differences and the potential problems that they can cause. We hope that a better understanding of the differences will help Americans and Japanese communicate more effectively.

This collection of papers is divided into three sections. The first section, "Introduction to Intercultural Communication," describes the background of the relationship between Japan and the United States, the history of the study of intercultural communication and some of the problems related to it—barriers that make communication between Americans and Japanese more difficult. In the first paper, "The Study of Intercultural Communication in the United States: A Brief History to the Early 1980's," the history of the study of intercultural communication is examined. Various aspects, including organizations, publications, development of theory, and education, are examined. "The Background of Japanese-American Relations" looks at the development of the relationship between Japan and the United States from 1853 when Commodore Perry arrived to the present. The need for better understanding between Japan and the United States is emphasized. In "Barriers to Intercultural Communication Between Americans and Japanese," some of the difficulties that Americans and Japanese have in communicating and the sources of those difficulties are discussed.

The second section, "Influences on Culture and Cultural Influences," includes seven papers on various aspects of communication between Americans and Japanese. "Effects of Natural Environment on American and Japanese Communication" discusses how the differences in the natural environment of Japan and Britain have influenced the development of the values and attitudes of Japanese- and English-speakers. These values, in turn, influence the language. "Effects of Social Environment on Japanese and American Communication" discusses differences in the social systems in Japan and the United States and how these differences affect communication between and among Americans and Japanese. "The Group in Japan and the United States" examines differences in the ways that Americans and Japanese interact in groups and the problems that these differences may cause in communication between Americans and Japanese. In "Differences in the Kinesic Codes of Americans and Japanese," the study of kinesics (communication through movement, including facial expression and gaze) is discussed. Factors that influence the kinesic codes of Americans and Japanese are discussed, along with differences between the kinesic codes of Americans and Japanese. In addition, how kinesics can be used in the English classroom is explored. "Differences between Politeness Strategies Used in Requests by Americans and Japanese" examines issues related to politeness, particularly in requests. While the systems of politeness are similar in English and Japanese, there are differences in the way that rules are applied. "Differences in Color Associations of Americans and Japanese" deals with the connotations and meanings that colors have in Japanese and American culture. In "Difficulties Japanese Have in Reading English," the process of reading and why it is difficult for Japanese to read English is discussed.

The third section, "Japanese Students' Knowledge of American Culture," is made up of five studies related to Japanese students' contact with Americans and American culture, their knowledge of American culture and the problems that they face in the United States. "The Teaching of American Culture in Secondary English Courses in Japan: An Analysis of Textbooks" reviews studies of junior and senior high school textbooks in Japan. It also includes an analysis of the American culture taught in current junior high school texts in Japan. "Awareness of American Culture: A Survey of Japanese College Students in the U.S." reports on a survey of Japanese students at an American university, their knowledge of American culture and their adjustment to life in the United States. "An Evaluation of English Teaching in Japan: A Survey of Japanese High School Exchange Students" reports a series of surveys of Japanese exchange students one month after their arrival in the United States, seven months after their arrival, and after their return to Japan. The survey covered such areas as students' knowledge of American culture and the methods of English study that they felt were most helpful. "Japanese Students' Knowledge of American Culture and Life" reports on the administration of the Test of American Culture in 1976 and in 1988. This test, which covers fifty aspects of American culture, is intended to measure how well Japanese students know American culture. Last, "Practical Adjustment to Life in the United States: Interviews with Incoming Japanese Students at an American

University" reports the results of in-depth interviews with twenty Japanese students in the United States. Students discuss their knowledge of American culture, and the interviews bring out the practical problems that they face in the United States.

Some of the papers included in this book were originally written in 1976. However, we do not believe that the situation has changed greatly. For example, we administered the Test of American Culture again in 1988 to a second group of Japanese students in Japan (see "Japanese Students' Knowledge of American Culture and Life"). We found that, although the sample included more English majors and more four-year college students and consisted entirely of full time day students, the students' knowledge of the United States was not much greater than that of the sample of Japanese students in Japan in the original study, which included night students and more junior college students and non-English majors. Also, when we were in the United States from 1985 to 1987, the Japanese students that we knew there had many of the same problems as those described in "Practical Adjustment to the United States: Interviews with Incoming Japanese Students at an American University."

In addition to updating the two studies mentioned, we have rewritten some of the papers for unity of form and clarity. Also, an abstract was written for each paper.

A number of the papers in this book are based on research originally done for Kenji Kitao's dissertation (The Teaching of American Culture in English Courses in Japan; 1977 [University Microfilms No. 77-28, 886]). Most of the papers in this book have been published in other publications. The following is a list of citations for these publications.

Ⅰ. Introduction to Intercultural Communication
  1. A Brief History of Intercultural Communication (1987)
  Human Communication Studies, 14 & 15.
  ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 278 212

3. Barriers to Intercultural Communication (1985)
   In M.-L. Liebe-Harkort (Ed.), *Linguistics across historical and geographical boundaries: Vol. 2. Descriptive, contrastive and applied linguistics* (pp. 1257-1271). Amsterdam: Mounton de Gruyter.

II. Influences on Culture and Cultural Influences

4. How Does Natural Environment Affect American and Japanese Ways of Expressing Themselves (1982)
   Doshisha Studies in English, 28.
   ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 278 054
5. Effects of Social Environment on Japanese and American Communication (1985)
   Speech Education, 12.
   ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 260 579
6. The Group in Japan and the United States (1988)
   World Communication (in press)
   ERIC Document Reproduction Service (in press)
7. Differences in the Kinesic Codes of Americans and Japanese (1988)
   ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 282 400
   Differences in the Kinesic Codes of United States and Japanese Nationals (1988)
   World Communication, 17(1).
8. Differences between Politeness Strategies Used in Requests by Americans and Japanese (1988)
   Doshisha Studies in English, 44 & 45.
   ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 280 118
9. A Study of Color Association Differences between Americans and Japanese (1986)
   Human Communication Studies, 13.
   ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 273 134
10. Difficulties Japanese Have in Reading English (1987)
   ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 278 214

III. Japanese Students' Knowledge of American Culture

11. The Present Situation in the Teaching of American Culture in English Courses in Japan—Analysis of Junior and Senior High School English Textbooks in Japan (1979)
    Doshisha Studies in English, 21.
    ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 179 098
    The Teaching of American Culture in Secondary English Courses in Japan: An Analysis of Textbooks
    ERIC Document Reproduction Service (in press)
12. A Survey of the Teaching of American Culture with KU Japanese Students (1978)
    Doshisha Studies in English, 19.
    ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 179 097
13. Japanese Exchange Students' Evaluation of English Teaching in Japan (1980)
    Doshisha Studies in English, 25.
    ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 202 211
14. The Test of American Culture (1980)
    Doshisha Studies in English, 22.
    NALLD Journal: Technology & Mediated Instruction, 15(2).
    Communication, 9(1).
    ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 191 331
15. Practical Adjustment to Life in an American University: Interviews with Incoming Japanese Students at an American University
    ERIC Document Reproduction Service (in press)

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A. Intercultural Communication Bibliography (Parts 1 & 2) (1986)
   ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 273 125
B. Intercultural Communication Bibliography (Part 3) (1987)
   ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 282 271
C. Intercultural Communication Bibliography, Part 4
   ERIC Document Reproduction Service (in press)

D. Intercultural Nonverbal Communication Bibliography (1988)
ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 285 402
E. Culture and Education: A Bibliography (1988)
ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 290 319

The bibliography was compiled primarily for English teachers who are interested in the influence of culture and intercultural communication on language teaching and learning. However, it is also useful to those interested in various aspects of intercultural communication.

* * * * * * *

We would like to express our appreciation to the people who over the years have helped us with the original papers that are included in this book and also to the participants in our studies. In particular, we would like to thank Ms. Catherine Duppenthaler of Seibo Women's Junior College, Dr. Nicholas J. Teele of Doshisha Women's College, Ms. Barbara Fujiwara of Doshisha Women's College, and Ms. Gladys Magnani of Kansai University of Foreign Studies for reading the manuscript and making valuable suggestions.

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Kyoto, Japan
February, 1989

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I

INTRODUCTION TO INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

THE STUDY OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION IN THE UNITED STATES: A BRIEF HISTORY TO THE EARLY 1980'S

Kenji Kitao

Abstract

The field of intercultural communication in the United States is relatively new. Its boundaries were identified in the late 1970s. The origin of intercultural communication is cultural anthropology, and culture is a very important feature of intercultural communication. Intercultural communication is mainly interpersonal interaction between people with different cultural backgrounds, but it includes cross-cultural communication, interracial communication, interethnic communication and international communication. In this paper, the development of the study of intercultural communication in the United States up to around 1980 is discussed briefly in terms of definitions of culture, communication, and intercultural communication; publications; professional organizations and conferences; education; and research. Based on this review, I concluded that the field of intercultural communication became established in about 1980.

Introduction

The importance of intercultural communication has increased greatly in Japan since 1970, because more and more Japanese go abroad every year. As more Japanese people work and travel overseas, the direct encounters of individual Japanese with people of other nationalities have increased, and communication problems have increased correspondingly.

Since the Japanese economy relies on foreign trade and business to a great extent, intercultural problems are very serious for the Japanese. Therefore, intercultural communication has become very important, and many people are concerned about it, even though it is not taught in many schools.

There are many publications in this field in Japan. Many of them seem to have been influenced by the study of intercultural communication and cultural anthropology in the United States. Edward T. Hall's *The Silent Language* was translated in 1966 and read by many Japanese. John C. Condon and Dean C. Barnlund have also contributed to the study of intercultural communication in Japan (e.g., Condon and Saito, 1974; Condon and Yousef, 1975; Barnlund, 1975).

However, there are not many publications which introduce the history and the state of the study of intercultural communication in Japan or even in the United States.

Since the 1960's there has been a considerable amount of growth in the field of intercultural communication. Definitions have been discussed and argued over, organizations and journals have been established, university courses have been offered and conferences have been held. The goals of this paper are to describe how the study of intercultural communication has developed in the United States in terms of definitions, publications, professional organizations and conferences, education, and research, and then to discuss some of the characteristics of each area.

The Study of Culture

The origins of intercultural communication can be traced to cultural anthropology. Through the work of anthropologists, communication specialists then became interested in the subject of communication among members of different cultures.

We can go back to Boas' (1940) collection of articles, *Race, Language* *and Culture* and Hall's books (1959, 1963). Boas provided a good anthropological description of American Indian languages but did not handle problems of intercultural communication. Hall compared cultures and pointed out some inadequacies of Western culture (Asante, Newmark. & Blake, 1979).

Another important contribution of anthropology to intercultural communication is that language was recognized as an important part of culture. Kluckhohn (1949) maintained that every language is also a special way of looking at the world and interpreting experience. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Whorf, 1956) maintained that language functions not simply as a device for reporting experience, but also, and more significantly, as a way of defining experience for its speakers.

In anthropology, culture was an omnibus term designating both the distinctly human forms of adaptation and the distinctive ways in which the different human populations organize their lives on earth (Levine, 1973). Anthropology did not present clear theoretical arguments for intercultural communication, which remained a field of inquiry without the traditions of social or behavioral science.

It is encouraging to recognize that cultural anthropologists such as Dell Hymes, Ethel Albert, Clifford Geertz, Roy Wagner, and Edward T. Hall have long considered the study of communication essential ingredient in the study of culture (Prosser, 1978a).

Since the late 1960s, culture has been considered together with communication. Culture is based on the community of communication (Deutsch, 1966). In this view, culture consists of socially stereotyped patterns of behavior, including habits of language and thought which are transmitted through various forms of social learning, particularly through methods of early child-rearing standardized in that culture.

Definitions

Culture

Intercultural communication specialists have begun to take more seriously the works of cultural anthropologists in relation to their own study of the relationships between communication and culture (Prosser, 1978a).

Smith (1966a) regarded culture as a code which we learn and share. Learning and sharing require communication, and communication requires coding and symbols, which must be learned and shared. This idea reflects the inseparability of communication and culture.

In the 1970s, communication specialists started trying to define culture. Sitaram (1970) defined culture as the sum total of the learned behaviors of a group of people that are generally considered to be the tradition of that people and that are transmitted from generation to generation. Porter (1972) defined culture in one of the earliest textbooks of intercultural communication as the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, meanings, beliefs, values, attitudes, religions, concepts of self, the universe and self-universe relationships, hierarchies of status, role expectations, spatial relations, and time concepts acquired by a large group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving.

Culture was considered one of the cores of intercultural communication. Until intercultural communication courses were offered by many universities, cultural anthropology served an important role in the training of specialists of intercultural communication (Prosser, 1978a).

Kim (1984) argued that culture has three dimensions in operationalization—the level of cultural group membership of communicators, the social context in which intercultural communication takes place, and the channel through which intercultural communication messages are transmitted. These are clear targets for research.

Another important aspect of intercultural communication concerning culture is that there were two schools of thought: one was cultural dialogue and the other, cultural criticism. The former was seeking internationalism and humanism to promote world understanding. The latter sought to find the points of conflict in each culture in order to isolate them as researchable issues in transcultural interaction (Asante, Newmark, & Blake, 1979).

Communication

The definitions of communication are more diverse and varied in nature and scope than those of culture. Stevens (1950) defined communication as the discriminatory response of an organism to a stimulus. This means that communication occurs when stimulus (environmental disturbance) works on an organism and the organism responds.

Cherry (1957) defined communication not as the response itself but as essentially the relationship set up by the transmission of stimuli and the evocation of responses. Gerbner (1958) defined communication as social interaction through messages which could be formally coded, symbolic or representational events of some shared aspect of a culture. Berelson and Steiner (1964) emphasized the transmission of information, ideas, emotions, skills, etc., by the use of symbols. Parry (1967) contended that it was appropriate to regard the communicative act as a special instance of the interplay of an organism in relation with its environment, the basic link between humans and their external world, as the prototype of communication.

Communication involves people and their environment. Thus culture (environment) is an important factor in communication. Particularly when people have different cultural backgrounds, culture has a very important influence on communication.

Intercultural Communication

There are many definitions of intercultural communication. One is interaction between members of differing cultures (Sitaram & Cogdell, 1976). Another definition is the art of understanding and being understood by the audience of another culture (Sitaram, 1970). These definitions include at least two cultures and interaction between them.

Samovar and Porter (1972a) stated that intercultural communication occurs whenever the parties to a communication act bring with them different experiential backgrounds that reflect a long standing deposit of group experience, knowledge, and values. They included both culture and communication in their definitions. Rich (1974) states that communication is intercultural when it occurs between peoples of different cultures. Stewart (1974) had a similar definition—that communication which occurs under conditions of cultural difference—language, values, customs, and habits.

A common feature of all these definitions is the mention of the concepts culture and communication, neither of which have widely agreed-upon definitions (Saral, 1977). Some of the definitions are in fact tautological in that they use the terms "culture" and/or "communication" in the definition.

Badami (1977) pointed out the importance of the variables of participants or of setting—that is, a context for communication rather than a separate phase or level of communication.

It should be noted that intercultural communication is not necessarily communication among people of different nations. In heterogeneous countries such as the United States, it can include communication among people who share the same nationality but have different racial or ethnic backgrounds. Samovar and Porter (1972a) broaden this definition even more to include communication between young and old, male and female, etc.

Concepts Related to Intercultural Communication

Cross-cultural communication. In many cases, intercultural communication and cross-cultural communication are used interchangeably. However, Gudykunst and Kim (1984) differentiated between them, maintaining that the former was a comparison of some phenomena across cultures and the latter was the study of interaction between people from different cultures. Therefore, a cross-cultural study would be one where the characteristics of Japanese and American groups are compared and contrasted and potential problems that Americans and Japanese might have working together in a group are discussed. An intercultural study, in contrast, might be one where the interaction of a group that includes both Japanese and Americans is observed and this interaction studied. The study of intercultural communication is generally considered to include cross-cultural communication.

International communication. International communication is distinctly different from intercultural communication in that it is interaction between political structures or nations, often carried on by representatives of those nations (Sitaram, 1970). It is group communication between nations, while intercultural communication is interpersonal communication between two people who have different cultural backgrounds.

Other terms. Intercultural communication includes interracial communication (communication between people of different races), interethnic communication (communication between people of different ethnic groups), cross-cultural communication, (comparison of two different communication styles) and international communication.

Critical Issues

Prosser (1978b) stressed six critical issues central to the study of communication among members of different cultures. These include 1) the importance of similarities and differences, 2) the nature of conflict in human communication and culture, 3) the control of communication and culture, 4) the impact of technology on communication and culture, 5) the importance of cultural stability versus change, and 6) the question of cultural imperialism versus dependency.

Publications on Intercultural Communication

Since the study of intercultural communication is relatively young, there were almost no publications on the subject until 1960. Because of the strong influence of cultural anthropology, two types of books are mentioned as the origins of intercultural communication: Boas' (1940) *Race, Language and Culture* and Hall's series of books (1959, 1963). Boas provided good anthropological descriptions of Indian languages but did not deal with real problems of intercultural communication. Hall gave us a general guide to human culture but no clear theoretical arguments about intercultural communication (Asante, Newmark & Blake, 1979).

The literature on intercultural communication has been growing steadily since the early 1960s (Asante, Newmark & Blake, 1979). However, no full-length texts on the theoretical aspects of intercultural communication existed until the early 1970s (Prosser, 1978b).

Barna and Jain (1978) link the origin of intercultural communication instruction to the publication of Hall's (1959) *The Silent Language*, Oliver's (1962) *Culture and Communication*, and Smith's (1966b) *Communication and Culture*. The importance of the last two books is that they are intended to connect culture and communication. Oliver's work is a look at national character and other deeply embedded cultural differences which serve as barriers to harmonious international relations. It includes suggestions for approaches appropriate to rhetoric in diplomacy and international relations.

Hoopes (1971, 1972, 1973, 1974), in a set of volumes, *Readings in Intercultural Communication*, reported on developing constructs of intercultural communication as well as describing ongoing research in this field.

Textbooks

In the 1970s, many textbooks were published: *Intercultural Communication: A Reader* (Samovar & Porter 1972b, 1976), *Intercommunication Among Nations and Peoples* (Prosser, 1973), *Intercultural Communication* (Harms, 1973), *An Introduction to Intercultural Communication* (Condon & Yousef, 1975), *Orientations to Intercultural Communication* (Ruhly, 1976), *Foundations of Intercultural Communication* (Sitaram & Cogdell, 1976), *Perspectives on Cross-cultural Communication* (Dodd, 1977), *International and Intercultural Communication* (Fischer & Merrill, 1977), *Cultural Dialogue* (Prosser, 1978a), *Crossing Cultural Barriers* (Weaver, 1978), *Intercultural Communication* (Sarbaugh, 1979), and more have followed.

All of these books represent the attempt to utilize theories of psychology, rhetoric, and anthropology to explain the phenomenon of interacting with humans from different ethnic or cultural groups (Asante, Newmark & Blake, 1979). As mentioned above, intercultural communication does not mean communication only with people from other countries but also communication between people who have different cultural backgrounds but who are citizens of the same country.

There are several textbooks on interracial and interethnic communication, including *Transactional Communication* (Smith, 1973), *Interracial Communication* (Rich, 1974), and *Crossing Differences: Interracial Communication* (Blubaugh & Pennington, 1976). Their treatment of daily social interactions in the United States is very important.

Bibliographies

As intercultural communication has been studied more, various bibliographies have been published. One of the most extensive was Seelye & Tyler (1977) *Intercultural Communication Resources* (Prosser, 1978b). This bibliography thoroughly covers materials on intercultural communication and related fields and, in addition, has some annotations. More recently, Kitao (1986), and Kitao and Kitao (1987a, 1988a, & 1988b) have published extensive bibliographies of intercultural communication materials. (These bibliographies are integrated in the bibliography at the end of this book.)

Conferences and Organizations

Many conferences, including international ones, seminars, and workshops on intercultural communication have been held. Organizations formed divisions for the field of intercultural communication in the 1970s. Many of them have produced valuable publications, which I will discuss in the following section.

The first international conference of the speech-communication arts and sciences was held in Heidelberg, Germany in August, 1968 by the German Speech Association, the Pacific Speech Association and the Speech Association of America. The second international conference of the speech-communication arts and sciences was held in Tokyo, Japan in June, 1969, by the Pacific Speech Association and Japan Speech Society. The third one was held in Tokyo the following June by the above two organizations and the Speech Association of America. An agreement to found a new organization was made.

The following January, the Communication Association of the Pacific was organized by Japan and the United States (Kawashima & Hirai, 1986). Much information was exchanged and many intercultural communication studies were conducted. The results of some of the studies were published in their journals, *Speech Education* and *Communication*.

In July, 1972, the first intercultural communication conference was held in Tokyo, by the Communication Department of International Christian University at the request of the Commission for International and Intercultural Communication of the Speech Communication Association. More than 2,000 people attended from the fields of politics, anthropology, linguistics, film making, business, sociology, physics, journalism, psychology, and communication. Some of the papers presented in this conference were published later (Condon & Saito, 1974).

Many other intercultural communication conferences have been held, and they have produced more valuable publications, including *Syllabi in Intercultural Communication* (Prosser, 1974), *Intercultural Communication: Proceedings of the Speech Communication Association Summer Conference, X* (Jain, Prosser, & Miller, 1974), and *Proceedings of the Conference on Intercultural Communication and Teacher Education* (Jain & Cummings, 1975).

In 1974, the first professional organization on intercultural communication, The International Society for Intercultural Education, Training and Research (SIETAR) held its first conference in Gaithersburg, Maryland. It started its professional quarterly journal, *The International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, in 1977. This journal has continued to publish research and conceptual papers, as well as reviews of publications on intercultural communication since then.

In 1977 and 1978, three books were published by SIETAR: *Overview of Intercultural Education, Training and Research: Vol. 1. Theory, Vol. 2. Education and Training*, and *Vol. 3. Special Research Areas*. These three volumes served to clarify the field to some extent.

Two major professional organizations for communication scholars, the Speech Communication Association (SCA) and the International Communication Association (ICA), organized divisions on intercultural communication in the early 1970s. The Speech Communication Association started its Commission on International and Intercultural Communication, under its first chairperson, Michael H. Prosser. The SCA had designated 1970 as the Intercultural-International Speech Communication Year and set this subject as the theme of its 1970 annual convention in New Orleans (Barna & Jain, 1978). The commission published its own annual, *International and Intercultural Communication Annual* in 1974, and has continued to publish papers by the leading people in this field (Casmir, 1974, 1975, 1976; Jain, 1977, 1979; Gudykunst, 1983; Gudykunst & Kim, 1984; Gudykunst, Stewart, & Ting-Toomey, 1985). Since 1983, the annual, published by Sage, has become more book-like in form, concentrating on a certain topic each year.

In 1970, the International Communication Association (ICA) recognized the area and created a Division of Intercultural Communication, the first chairman of which was K. S. Sitaram (Weaver, 1977). Each year at the ICA national convention, the division holds panels, the major papers of which are published in *Communication Yearbook*.

Education

Development of Programs

Intercultural communication education has developed greatly since the late 1960s (Saral, 1977). Today, almost every major university in the country teaches a course in some aspect of intercultural communication (Asante, Newmark, and Blake, 1979).

The teaching of intercultural communication as a university subject began around 1960 and was encouraged by the publication of such works as *The Silent Language* (Hall, 1959), *Culture and Communication* (Oliver, 1962), and *Communication and Culture* (Smith, 1966b) (Barna & Jain, 1978).

The number of intercultural communication courses and programs grew rapidly after 1970. Michael Flack (University of Pittsburgh) offered the first formal course at the university level. William Howell (University of Minnesota) spotlighted the area of intercultural communication and provided course models and encouragement to others (Barna & Jain, 1978).

The National Association for Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) supported the concept by establishing a national U.S.-Foreign Student Relations Committee headed by Clifford Clarke and by disseminating information about the workshops to schools of higher education throughout the United States. The diversity of courses taught within the area of intercultural communication is reflected clearly in the *Syllabi in Intercultural Communication* compiled by Prosser (1974)

(Beebe & Biggers, 1986).

By the late 1970s, about 200 colleges and universities offered one or more courses in intercultural communication, and about 60 colleges and universities offered graduate courses. Students taking intercultural communication courses belonged to many diverse disciplines including communication, speech, teaching English as a second language, journalism, social work, education, nursing, and business administration.

There has been a growing trend toward incorporating intercultural communication units in introductory communication courses and in courses taught in areas such as multicultural education, international relations, and social work (Barna & Jain, 1978).

Howell compiled a list of 119 faculty members in universities in Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Minnesota, and Wisconsin in his *Directory of International Communication Scholars in MUCIA Universities* in 1971. He found that there should be more systematic arrangement in this field. He proposed a model that suggested guidelines for the development of intercultural communication study in higher education institutions. In this model, he emphasized that the director of intercultural communication studies should be designated, since this field includes so many disciplines. He proposed that departments offer majors and minors in this field, including courses from other departments, and offer existing graduate degrees with emphasis on intercultural communication rather than starting new degrees (Howell, 1975).

Pedagogical Considerations

Fundamentals of intercultural communication education. Fundamental assumptions underlying the teaching of intercultural communication in the 1970s were:

1) Communication is considered to be a dynamic process whereby human behavior, both verbal and nonverbal, is perceived and responded to.

2) Cultural pluralism is a desirable goal for human civilization.

3) Culture affects and is affected by communication.

4) Individual differences occur within cultures and such individual differences also affect the occurrence, nature and effectiveness of communication.
5) The process of communication under conditions of cultural differences can be analyzed and the knowledge about the process of intercultural communication and related skills can be taught.
6) Intercultural communication courses should be involved in the creation and perfection of general intercultural communication competences that would encourage movement to and aid interaction in any number of cultural groups.
7) Cognitive input of a rigorous nature, including theory and research, should be encouraged along with skill development in intercultural communication courses.
8) Intercultural communication courses are interdisciplinary in nature and therefore should draw materials from many disciplines (Barna & Jain, 1978).

Fundamental ideas included:

1) The values, beliefs, assumptions, and other aspects of one's own culture must be brought to awareness before effective interaction with persons from other cultures is possible.
2) Information of a culture-specific nature is useful for purposes of contrast to bring one's own cultural background to awareness, to understand concepts of intercultural communication, and as a base of knowledge for persons expecting to interact with members of that cultural group.
3) Cultural similarities and cultural differences affect various aspects of the communication process including perception, meaning, attitude formation and change, thinking, and behavioral response.
4) Intercultural communication courses include the following major topics, concepts and theories:
   a. Formulation of in-groups and out-groups and the resulting ethnocentrism.

b. Cultural similarities and differences and their effects on communication.

c. Subjective culture theory.

d. Stereotypes and communication.

e. Racism, prejudice, discrimination, and intercultural communication.

f. Tolerance of ambiguity, acceptance of diversity, and empathy.

g. Language and culture, bilingualism and problems of translation.

h. Nonverbal factors in intercultural communication.

i. Cultural adjustment, culture shock, cultural adaptation, and acculturation.

j. Analysis of intercultural communication in terms of role theory, value theory, attribution theory, motivation theory, attraction theory, perception theory, attitude change theory, social exchange theory, personality theory, and communication theory (Barna & Jain, 1978).

Intercultural communication courses tend to use one or more of the following four approaches:

1) *Social Interaction Approach*: study of the effects of cultural traits, cultural similarities, and cultural differences on social perception and other communication processes.

2) *Cultural Group Approach*: study of communication behaviors and cultural patterns of a specific racial, ethnic, or national cultural group with a comparative analysis of communication patterns of various cultural groups.

3) *Social Problems Approach*: focus on the communication aspects of various intercultural problems such as racism, prejudice, discrimination, assimilation, acculturation, re-entry, international conflicts, and socio-cultural change.

4) *Communication Theory Approach*: focus on how various concepts of communication theory manifest themselves in intercultural settings (Barna & Jain, 1978).

Ph.D. courses should be offered to produce more qualified instructors of intercultural communication (Barna & Jain, 1978).

Intercultural communication courses have become increasingly popular in colleges and universities. Many new textbooks have been published. The programs and journals in the field of communication reflect the concerns related to teaching the intercultural communication course (Broome, 1986).

Culture-general vs. culture-specific approaches. Broome (1986) points out that one of the most common distinctions made regarding teaching and training in intercultural communication is between a "culture-general" and a "culture-specific" approach to the subjects. The former treats a group of cultures together, analyzing them with criteria created by the analyst and providing an external "alien" view of the various systems. In an intercultural communication course with a culture-general approach, the purpose of the class would be to make students aware of and sensitive to cultural differences and the effects that they have. The latter, on the other hand, is applied to one cultural group at a time, analyzing it from the view of one familiar with the system and who knows how to function within it, thus providing an internal view of the system using criteria chosen from within the culture. Culture-specific approaches may also be directed at people going to another country for a particular reason, such as business. For example, an orientation for Japanese students planning to go to the United States would take a culture-specific approach, preparing students for life in the United States, particularly life as a student.

The culture-specific approach is useful for training people to prepare for living or doing business in certain cultures. However, the culture-general approach is more often used in colleges and universities, judging from an examination of course syllabi from colleges and universities across the United States (Hoopes, 1977). The philosophy behind this is that people with culture-general knowledge can overcome any problems in a specific culture (Ruhly, 1976). Broome (1986) points out that each approach on its own is lacking in three areas: 1) the failure to provide an understanding of culture as a system, 2) inappropriate comparisons between the students' own culture and others, and 3) the failure to place behaviors studied in proper context. He suggests that both approaches should be used in intercultural communication courses.

Research

The 1970s was a period in which the discipline of intercultural communication searched for its identity. There were interests and needs to meet practical intercultural problems, and scholars worked hard to make their research accepted by other areas of communication (Kim, 1984).

Since definitions of intercultural communication have many ambiguities, as discussed above, intercultural communication research deals with many variables in many ways. Because of this, many studies in intercultural communication lacked specific focus or direction (Saral, 1977).

Most studies of intercultural communication described, discussed and/or cited in the literature referred to research carried out by scholars of various other disciplines, including anthropology, linguistics, psychology, and sociology. These scholars were interested in the study of culture, and its effect on human behavior, examined typically from the perspective of the particular discipline involved (Saral, 1977).

There were no clear boundaries around the study of intercultural communication. Ellingsworth (1976) raised serious questions as to whether intercultural communication ought to be spoken of as a field, and whether there is any point in seeking or claiming any uniqueness for intercultural communication research.

Becker (1972) distinguished between "research on the communication process within various cultures (the sort of work many linguists, cultural anthropologists, and diffusion scholars are doing) and research on communication process across various cultures." Many intercultural communication scholars followed this distinction. Samovar and Porter

(1972) emphasized that intercultural communication research must focus on intercultural rather than cross-cultural situations where interpersonal relations occur between members of different cultures.

Much of the research in intercultural communication has dealt with the communication process within cultures. This is because knowledge of the processes of intracultural communication has been considered necessary for developing, testing, and refining exploratory studies about various intercultural communication processes. However, using this process, very little progress has been made in isolating variables which affect intercultural communication.

By the end of the 1970s, the research focus was primarily upon framing the appropriate questions that reflect the complexity of phenomena under investigation. Many research projects were being carried out in the field. However, most of the research design, data-collection, and data-analysis methodologies were still unidirectional and were not appropriate for such dynamic and multidimensional interaction (Saral, 1977). Another limitation of intercultural communication research was that people who engaged in such research had been trained in the Western research paradigms.

Howell (1979) argued that much more observation is needed before building theories, and that theories need more observation. Intercultural communication was still a new field and offered a great many opportunities for research.

Summary and Conclusions

The field of intercultural communication is relatively new, and its boundaries were not clearly identified until the late 1970s (Saral, 1977; Prosser, 1978a). We can trace the origin of the study of intercultural communication to cultural anthropology. Conceptualizations of intercultural communication range from those which regard intercultural communication as a subsystem of human communication to those that consider it as an independent and respectable area of study that cuts across various disciplines, including communication (Saral, 1977). Culture is an important component of intercultural communication. There are many definitions of culture and communication and many ways of looking at them.

Intercultural communication is mainly interpersonal interaction between people with different cultural backgrounds, but it includes cross-cultural communication, interracial communication, interethnic communication and international communication.

Publications in intercultural communication increased in the 1960s, but most of full-length texts have come out since 1970. Many textbooks were published, including some on interracial and interethnic communication, since 1972. Other publications, such as research papers, explanations of theories, bibliographies, and collected conference papers, were also published.

Professional communication organizations founded intercultural communication divisions in the early 1970s. One of them, SCA's Commission on International and Intercultural Communication, started publishing the *International and Intercultural Communication Annual* in 1974. The Society for Intercultural Education, Training, and Research (SIETAR) was founded in 1974, and it started publishing the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* in 1977. These two publications in particular enhanced the number and quality of papers in this field.

Very few schools offered intercultural communication courses in the 1960s, but by the late 1970s, more than 200 colleges and universities were offering them. However, the content of undergraduate courses varied a great deal from one school to another. Graduate programs were suggested. Programs can be separated into the categories of culture-general and culture-specific. A proposal was made to organize studies and areas of research concerned with intercultural communication together.

Since definitions of intercultural communication were not clear, there was not much consistency of focus in research in intercultural communication, even though a great many studies have been done since 1970.

Early research was in the fields of anthropology, linguistics, sociology, and psychology. Intercultural communication was emphasized more than cross-cultural communication. Researchers studied the process of communication in one culture and used that approach to find variables for intercultural communication.

By the end of the 1970s, the field of intercultural communication has gradually become stronger and more focused through the increase of publications and research, organizational support, and expansion of courses in the field. It had established itself as a well-defined discipline, although there were still large gaps in theory and research, and the field is mainly influenced by Western thought and research models. We can probably conclude that intercultural communication was established as a field in about 1980.

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THE BACKGROUND OF JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Kenji Kitao

Abstract

For much of her long history, Japan has been influenced by Asian nations such as China and Korea. However, after 1853, when the United States demanded that Japan open her doors to trade, Japan has been strongly influenced by Western nations. After Japan opened her doors in the mid-1800's, she began making a great effort to catch up with Western nations, strengthen her military, industrialize the economy, and gain knowledge from Western civilization. The rise of the military in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, combined with deteriorating relations between Japan and the United States and a lack of understanding between the two countries, led to war between the two countries. However, after World War II, Japan developed a close relationship with the United States. Though Japan has developed relationships in more recent decades with a wider variety of countries, that with the United States remains a vitally important one, economically, scientifically, and in many other ways. In this paper, I discuss the history of the relationship between Japan and the United States. I conclude with a discussion of the importance of better understanding between Japan and the United States.

Introduction

Japan's Early Foreign Relations

Japan's history dates back to ancient times. The exact origins of the Japanese people and their language are not known. The Japanese language may be of the Altaic language family that also includes Turkish and Mongolian, though Japanese does not resemble any other modern language to any great extent (Reischauer, 1977).

Throughout that long history, Japan has been strongly influenced by Korea and China and, to a considerably lesser extent, by other Asian nations. However, she has not had a strong influence on Asian nations until recently. She had very little interaction with Western nations until 1853, when Commodore Matthew C. Perry brought the American fleet to Uraga and demanded diplomatic and commercial relations with Japan. He found a nation where the lives of ordinary people had been little influenced by foreign intercourse for the better part of one thousand years (Halloran, 1969).

Japan had not been influenced by Western nations for the following reasons: First, Japan was a small nation of islands and so was completely isolated from other nations by sea. Unlike the British, the Japanese have never been seafarers. She did not have so close a relationship with Korea and China as they had with other nations in Asia. Unlike other small Asian nations, Japan was never conquered for any period of time. She was never a colony of any nation. Second, she was located far away from the Western nations, so Western people could not come to visit in extensive numbers until the sixteenth century. Even then, few ordinary people had any contact with Westerners. Third, Japanese society was very exclusive; the Japanese people did not intermingle with other people. Instead, they simply absorbed other cultures and civilizations into their own. Therefore, even now Japan is one of the most homogeneous countries in the world in terms of language and culture, and she is not under the strong influence of Western cultures, except with regard to such aspects of culture as medicine, architecture, business, and technology. Fourth, shortly after Western people began to come in the sixteenth century, the Japanese government became afraid of the Western policy of colonization in Asia, and, wanting to protect its own feudal system, decided to exclude Westerners from Japan. Japan did not maintain any diplomatic and commercial relations with any nation except China and Holland until 1854. Those relations were not strong; only a little trade was carried on through Nagasaki, a port on the western edge of Japan, far away from other major cities. Japan was thus almost totally isolated from other nations for two hundred and fifty years. Fifth, Japan was a self-sustaining nation. Her population was small and produced enough food; anything imported was a luxury and unnecessary in the daily lives of most people.

Japan After the Opening to Western Nations

During Japan's isolation, Western nations underwent great changes. These nations were far ahead of Japan when the Americans came to Japan. The Japanese government had no choice but to enter into unequal diplomatic and commercial treaties with Western nations. The door was now wide open. Westerners were permitted permanent residence at five ports and also in the great cities of Osaka and Edo; free and unrestricted trade relations were sanctioned (Reischauer, 1968). Many Japanese people were ignorant and wanted to expel foreigners; they actually fought against the British and French, but, as Japan was much weaker militarily, the results were obvious from the beginning. The Japanese were decisively defeated.

After the Meiji Government was established in 1868, its major policies were to enrich the nation, strengthen the military power, catch up with the Western nations, and overcome them. People were sent to Western nations to study. Western books were translated into Japanese, and Western people were invited to Japan. Every means was used to gain knowledge of Western civilization. New industries were established based on such knowledge and on new techniques. That effort made Japan the biggest power in Asia and one of the major powers in the world a half century later.

Japan joined the major European nations in the game of winning territories and economic privileges from the weaker regions of Asia. She sent military troops to the continent many times. She won the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and the Russo-Japanese War in 1905. She was on the winning side in World War I in 1918, and she expanded her territory to the continent and the north Pacific. As she became powerful, Western nations surrendered their rights to extra-territoriality in Japan by 1899, and by 1911 she resumed complete control of her own tariffs. By then she also succeeded in establishing equal relations with Western nations. However, she failed to achieve mutual understanding with those nations and planted in the minds of her people the misconception that Japan was inferior to Western nations, but superior to all other nations in everything, including culture. She did not introduce herself to Western nations and did not learn much from them except knowledge of such aspects of Western civilization as technology, business, art, and medicine. Other than in these areas, contact with Western countries had little effect on the lives of most Japanese people. There was almost no mutual understanding between the Japanese and Westerners.

As Japan increased her military and economic power, this lack of understanding contributed to the tension and distrust that was created between the West and Japan over her profits in commerce with Asian nations. Japan had to return the Liaotung Peninsula to China after the intervention of Russia, France, and Germany. She also had to leave the League of Nations because of the Manchurian Incident, and, finally, she became involved in World War II.

After the war, the American forces occupied Japan from 1945 to 1952. In 1945, Japan was a country almost totally devastated by war. One third of the population had lost their homes; industry had lost three-quarters of its pre-war capacity; there were widespread and acute food shortages and an almost-complete breakdown of land transportation

(Hall, 1971). During the Occupation years, the Japanese and Americans worked together to rebuild the country. Japan's success in rebuilding during and since the Occupation can be attributed, in part, to two factors—the Occupation forces' retention of the essential structure of Japan's political and social institutions, and the social and political discipline of the Japanese (Hall, 1971).

In the years since the Occupation, Japan has retained her close ties with the United States, though she is not as dependent as she once was. In addition to ties with the United States, she has expanded her ties with other countries, so that Japan has moved to a multilateral rather than bilateral standpoint in international relations (Mason & Caiger, 1972).

Misunderstanding Between the American and Japanese People

The Americans and the Japanese first met officially when Commodore Matthew C. Perry brought his fleet to Uraga in 1853 to deliver a letter from the President of the United States to the ruler of Japan, which demanded the beginning of trade relations. Of course, Japan was thrown into a state of complete confusion over this. Some people were afraid because they thought that the Americans had come to conquer Japan.

Immediately, heated debates occurred all over the nation. Should Japan open her ports to American vessels or not? Some people were, of course, against the idea, and they insisted on fighting any foreign intruders.

Japan finally agreed to open her ports to American vessels in 1854. In 1858 the first American consul general, Townsend Harris, came to Shimoda to conclude a commercial treaty with Japan one year after his first visit. Neither he nor his hosts found this visit pleasant, because the consul general did not understand the language, did not like the food, and found the negotiations difficult. He suffered from a serious communication gap (Rosovsky, 1972). Likewise, the first Japanese envoy had an uncomfortable time with the strange hospitality he found in the United States. There was no foundation for good communication between Japan and the United States in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Although Japan opened her ports and had diplomatic and commercial relations with a number of countries, many Japanese people were strongly opposed to this new foreign policy, and some of them attacked American and other foreign vessels in 1864.

A new government, Meiji, was established in 1868. At that time, very few Japanese understood Western nations, including the United States, but the Meiji Government decided to learn from Western countries in such areas as business, the military, and government (Reischauer, 1968). One of the ways they carried out this policy was to send students abroad to study in the United States, mostly in the field of business.

Until 1900 the image of Japan in the United States was that of a small, quaint, exotic, mysterious island power. However, when Japan defeated Russia in 1905, the image changed to that of a powerful country with imperial ambitions.

In the meantime, Japanese (along with other Asians and Asian-Americans) faced prejudice in the United States. Their success at farming land considered unusable aroused envy and resentment among Caucasian farmers in California. In 1906, the San Francisco Board of Education attempted to segregate all Asian students, and in 1924, Congress excluded Japanese people (along with all those from Asia) from immigrating to the United States (Perrin, 1980).

As Japanese power increased and conflict grew with the major Western nations over Japan's actions in Asia, the miscommunication between Japan and the United States became serious. With America's refusal to recognize Manchukuo and her support of China before and during the war between China and Japan, the relations between the United States and Japan worsened, leading eventually to war.

At the start of World War II, Americans found that they did not know much about Japan and her people. They needed to understand them in order to establish an occupation policy. As a result, the United States emphasized studies about Japan and the Japanese people; one, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture* (Benedict, 1946), is well known. Japanese language instruction was emphasized at the Military Intelligence Service Language School (Hempal & Mueller, 1959).

On the other hand, in Japan, English lessons were decreased at women's high schools and vocational schools from 1935 on (Minagawa, 1975) and were also gradually decreased at public schools until 1944, when they were discontinued completely (Shimizu, 1975; Hoshiyama, 1975). The Japanese people could not get any information about the United States and its people during the war. The common people of Japan did not know the United States and its people well then, and they believed the military's propaganda against the United States. For example, they were told to commit suicide rather than be captured, because the Americans were devils and would treat captives horribly. Americans tried to get the Japanese people to surrender, but many Japanese soldiers actually chose death on the islands of the South Pacific and Okinawa. There was no understanding between the ordinary citizens of America and Japan before the end of the war.

For most of her history, Japan has learned from the outside world. As Japan has gained in economic strength, she has come under pressure to share with the outside world in terms of technology, economic assistance, culture, and international leadership. It is essential that Japan consider and learn to overcome linguistic and cultural barriers to communication (Reischauer, 1977). In addition, Japan must negotiate with the United States, as well as other nations, in such areas as trade relations and responsibility for her own defense. These areas will continue to be the major international challenges for Japan in the foreseeable future (Woodruff, 1988).

Mutual Knowledge of Americans and Japanese

After the war, many Americans came to Japan and the Japanese had many opportunities to meet them. More and more Americans have come to Japan year by year. According to the Ministry of Justice, Immigration Bureau (1987), 55,638 foreigners entered Japan in 1946, 50.2% of them Americans. Every year since then, the total number of foreigners entering Japan has increased, and Americans have always been the largest group, though their percentage of the total has decreased. In 1985, 2,259,894 foreigners entered Japan, the largest group of whom (21.6% or 487,713), were Americans. The second largest group was from the Republic of China at 15.8%. However, this increase in tourist and commercial travel has not been enough to establish good understanding on an individual basis.

Many Japanese English teachers who are leaders in their profession now once studied in the United States under the Fulbright Scholarship program. These people commonly had some difficulty in understanding and adjusting to American life when they first arrived because of their misunderstanding and lack of knowledge of American culture (Tazaki, 1974).

At present, every Japanese newspaper and magazine has articles about the United States, and many American books are translated into Japanese (Kunihiro, 1972). Many American movies are shown in theaters and on television. A few American television programs are shown, and a considerable amount of American news is reported, including even satellite broadcasts of U.S. news broadcasts. Therefore, most of the Japanese people do have some knowledge about the United States and her people, but they do not understand Americans well enough in direct communication. On the other side, according to a Louis Harris poll conducted for the *Asahi Shinbun* [*The Asahi Newspaper*] and published in March, 1971 (Packard, 1972), Americans were found to be ignorant of basic facts about Japan. Since that time, Americans have become more interested in, for example, Japanese cuisine and the Japanese economy. However, during the time I spent in the United States between 1985 and 1987, I found that Americans are still ignorant of many basic facts about Japan. Therefore, there is still much misunderstanding between Japan and the United States. While it is not the only problem between the two countries, it is a major factor in many problems.

There are many kinds of misunderstandings, and the greatest ones are caused, of course, by language. English is very different from Japanese. Both grammar and ways of expressing things are different. Certain words have different nuances from those in English, so translation is very difficult. For example, the expression *kangaete okimasu* would be literally translated "(I will) think about it," indicating that a final decision has not been made. However, the expression is only used when a negative answer is intended. Therefore, it is possible that there would be a misunderstanding if a Japanese said *kangaete okimasu*, and it was translated literally.

Other misunderstandings can be caused by lack of understanding of the conventions of a language. Kasper (1984) found that non-native speakers tended to take conventional utterances literally. For example, if when Americans use the conventional leave-taking formula "I'll give you a call sometime" or "I'll see you again," Japanese often take it as a definite commitment and are disappointed if the American does not contact them.

Another potential area of misunderstanding is differences in background knowledge. Americans and Japanese do not always share the same background knowledge and associations, and this may cause miscommunication. This issue is discussed in more detail in "Barriers to Intercultural Communication Between Americans and Japanese" and "Difficulties Japanese Have in Reading English."

Necessity for Better Understanding

Clearly, there has been much misunderstanding between the American people and the Japanese people. At present, there is an immediate need for the Japanese people to understand other people, particularly Americans.

First, the world is getting smaller and smaller because of the development of transportation and mass media. More and more people cross the Pacific day by day, and so the Japanese people have more opportunities to see Americans and become acquainted with the American people.

Second, the United States is still the leading nation in the world, and Japan has to learn many things from her. As a result, Japan sends more of her students to the United States than to all other countries combined. (Of the 57,484 Japanese who went abroad to study in 1987, 51.1% went to the United States [Ministry of Justice, 1988].) The United States has a very strong academic and cultural influence on every nation, Japan included.

Third, Japan has strong relations with the United States politically, economically, and scientifically. According to the Ministry of Justice (1988), in 1987, more Japanese people (2,316,187) went to the United States than any other country. Less than one third as many went to the entire continent of Europe. More Japanese people went to the United States to live (30,173) and to study or do research (36,937) than to any other country. More than 283,000 Japanese went to the United States for business purposes, more than went to any other country, and more than twice as many as went to Europe. The United States is Japan's largest trading partner and has been for many years. In 1985, Japan exported $65,278,000,000 worth of goods to the United States, 37.2% of her total exports. (The same year, Japan's exports to the whole of Western Europe totaled less than half of that amount.) In 1985, Japan's imports from the United States totaled $25,793,000,000, 20% of total imports and twice as much as was imported from all of the Western European nations (Ueda, 1987).

Fourth, English is one of the main international languages while the Japanese language is not. Japanese people have to learn English and understand speakers of English in order to communicate with people of other countries.

Fifth, the Western cultures are the most influential cultures in the world now. Wherever we go, we find Western-style hotels, restaurants, and amusement places.

Sixth, Japan is not a self-sustaining country any longer. Her population now is more than three times larger than when the Meiji Government was established. Japan does not have much food, energy, or other natural resources and has to import them. She produces commodities with the imported natural resources and has to export them. Therefore, she has to maintain good communication and understanding with other nations, particularly with the United States.

Seventh, in recent years, other countries have begun to want to learn more about Japan and the technical and scientific expertise that Japan has developed. Japan needs to be able to communicate herself and her knowledge with people from other countries.

Before World War II, only a limited number of people who were in the government or in trading companies or who had special purposes went abroad. However, all Japanese can go abroad now. Many Japanese people develop relationships with non-Japanese people on an individual basis, and more encounter the English language. Probably more and more people will have such experiences in the future.

Better intercultural communication is now emphasized by many people in many fields in Japan. Many companies send their employees abroad for study. Many universities are increasing exchange student programs and sister school programs with foreign institutions. Several nonprofit organizations sponsor various high school exchange programs. And finally *Kokusai Communication* [*International Communication*] (Kubo, Sato, & Izutsu, 1976), a Japanese magazine on intercultural communication began in June, 1976. According to Condon (1976), it was the first magazine of its kind in the world.

In summary, there are many misunderstandings between the Japanese and the American people, and the Japanese people have many cultural problems in understanding the American people and adjusting to life in the United States. In this collection of papers, some of the differences between Japanese and American cultures will be explored, along with the difficulties that they cause in communication.

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BARRIERS TO INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN AMERICANS AND JAPANESE

Kenji Kitao

Abstract

When a Japanese speaks to an American, the former changes concepts into signs with associations based on Japanese culture, while the latter translates those signs into concepts with associations based on American culture. Thus, without understanding patterns of association, it is difficult for a Japanese to communicate fully with an American, unless the American happens to understand Japanese culture. The Japanese is at the disadvantage in such a situations, since the traditional isolation and homogeneity of his/her country has encouraged the development of communicative conventions that do not lend themselves to intercultural contexts. In this paper, the structure of associations is briefly discussed, communication between the two cultures is schematized in several diagrams, and a number of cultural aspects of Japanese and American communication are dealt with, including the nature of group interaction and the horizontal vs. vertical characteristics of American and Japanese societies.

Introduction

The purpose of language is communication (Umegaki, 1975). However, complete communication requires more than just linguistic knowledge. Communication makes use of language and gestures according to the socio-cultural pattern of the speaker (Finocchiaro, 1969). Hall and Whyte (1973: 308) have said that "the communication pattern of a given society is part of its total culture pattern and can only be understood in that context." Thus, unless the speaker and hearer share an understanding of each other's cultural background, they cannot communicate fully, even if they are linguistically competent.

In recent years the Japanese have had more opportunities to communicate with people of other cultural backgrounds, because of the development of the Japanese economy and increased internationalization (Nakane, 1972). As these opportunities have expanded, the Japanese have encountered more misunderstandings and other problems with people of other cultural backgrounds. Since Japanese people encounter Americans more frequently than any other group, they encounter more problems with them.

For the Japanese, one major purpose of learning English should be communication with English-speaking people. However, even between Japan and the United States, the country which has the most contact with Japan, there is a big communication gap. More effective communication is necessary. I would like to discuss how this communication could be improved in terms of culture.

The Communication Process

Communication involves expressing oneself and understanding others by verbal and non-verbal means. When the speaker has a concept to express, he/she changes that concept into verbal or non-verbal signs. The hearer hears, sees, or feels those signs and interprets them to get the concept. If the hearer's concept is the same as the speaker's, communication has been successful.

If the hearer does not arrive at the same concept that the speaker held—if he/she has not been able to comprehend the intended meaning of the speaker's communication signs—the communication has failed. For example, if an American speaker refers to "gingerbread," a Japanese hearer may understand the meanings of "ginger" and "bread." However, without having seen and tasted gingerbread, it is impossible to imagine what it is really like. Translating signs into concepts is difficult unless the hearer has knowledge of or has experienced what the concepts refer to.

Even though the Japanese know much more about the United States than they do about other countries, their knowledge is limited. They do not know much about the daily life, values, attitudes, etc., of Americans. They do not understand the unconscious patterned behaviors of Americans—ways of thinking, patterns of discourse, etc. This is one of the biggest barriers to full communication. If people do not share the same experiences or background knowledge, the efficiency of their communication is limited.

Culture and Association

Culture also affects communication through association. Each individual has associations based on previous knowledge and experiences. His/her culture and surroundings make up an important part of those associations.

Associations

The role of associations in communication. Associations are used when signs are converted into meaning and meaning into signs. Association is related to culture. A speaker does not use all the signs necessary to convey concepts. He/she relies on associations to add information. Therefore, the speaker can convey a broad meaning with only a few signs. However, Japanese and Americans do not always have the same associations, so they sometimes misunderstand each other.

When two Japanese people talk, the speaker changes a concept into signs, and the hearer changes those signs into a concept. There is usually not much difference between their concepts, in part, because they have similar associations based on Japanese culture. Such associations help them change their concepts into communication signs and vice versa (Fig. 1).

However, if the speaker is Japanese and the hearer is American (or vice versa), the speaker uses associations based on Japanese culture to change concepts into signs. The hearer translates those signs into concepts, using associations based on American culture. If they are talking about something in which the associations of their cultures overlap, the hearer is still able to understand the speaker (Fig. 2-A), but if their associations are different, they misunderstand each other (Fig. 2-B), (unless one of them understands the other's culture adequately).

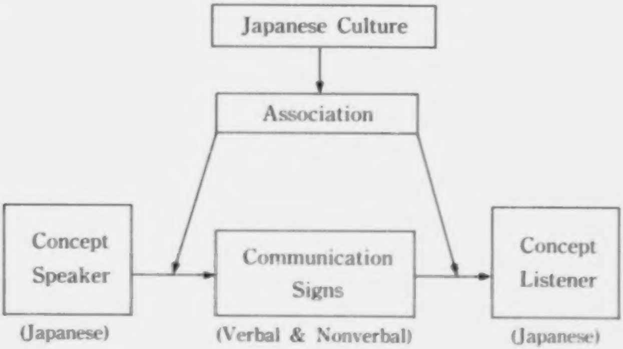
Japanese Culture
Association
Concept
Speaker
Communication
Signs
Concept
Listener
(Japanese)
(Verbal & Nonverbal)
(Japanese)

Fig. 1

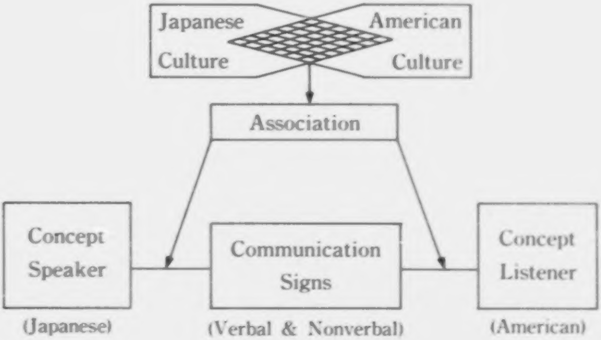
Japanese
Culture
American
Culture
Association
Concept
Speaker
Communication
Signs
Concept
Listener
(Japanese)
(Verbal & Nonverbal)
(American)

Fig. 2-A

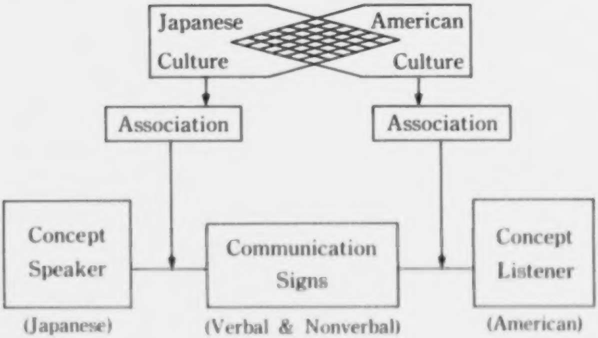

Fig. 2-B

Thus, a Japanese who does not understand American patterns of association cannot fully communicate with Americans effectively unless the American happens to understand Japanese culture. A Japanese hears "breakfast," which is translated as *asagohan* or *choshoku* in Japanese, and may imagine boiled rice without salt or sugar, soybean soup, seaweed, a raw egg, some pickles, and green tea. This association of the term "breakfast" is very different from an American breakfast, traditionally bacon and eggs, toast, orange juice, and coffee, milk, or black tea. An English sentence translated literally into Japanese may not always make sense to a Japanese, because the sentence may reflect American traditions, associations, and conventions, which most Japanese are not familiar with. For example, if the expression "making bricks without straw" is translated directly into Japanese, a Japanese would not understand its meaning. This expression comes from an incident recorded in the Old Testament, where the Israelites, enslaved in Egypt, had to gather the straw necessary to make bricks but still make as many bricks as they had when the straw had been provided for them. In English, it refers to a situation where one is forced to accomplish something without the necessary materials.

Natural environment also affects association. For example, the opposite of "mountain" in the Japanese language is "sea," but is "valley" in English. Different value systems may interpret a sentence in opposite ways—for example, "A rolling stone gathers no moss" has a negative value in Japan but a positive value for many in the United States.

The structure of association. Kunihiro (1973) discussed the structure of associations. He asserted that association falls into two main categories: word association, which links stimulus-response words, and cultural association, which links a word with its cultural connotation.

Kunihiro divided word association into paradigmatic and syntagmatic association. Paradigmatic association has three rules: (1) the minimal contrast rule—association of words that are direct opposites in meaning, like "man" and "woman," (2) the marking rule—association between marked and unmarked words, like "horse" and "horses," and (3) the feature-deletion and -addition rules—association between superordinate words and hyponyms, like "flowers" and "roses," "daisies," etc.

Syntagmatic association is divided into the selectional feature realization rule and the idiom completion rule. The former is the association among actors, actions, and objects, or nouns and adjectives like "meow" and "cat," and "silent" and "movie." The latter is the association in a group of words, like "ham" and "cheese," and "bacon" and "eggs."

Cultural association is of two types. One is sentence association. Through this, native speakers may be able to guess a speaker's age, sex, social class, and occupation from utterances. The other is indicative association, which is related to history, literature, legend, customs, conventions, etc. For example, if a woman is described as being a platinum blond, the association that this would have for most Americans would be a beautiful woman, but with an artificial rather than natural type of beauty.

There is not very much difference in the paradigmatic association of English and Japanese. However, most Japanese people do not have much familiarity with the American systems of syntagmatic association. Japanese people have the most trouble with cultural association, because they are not familiar with the background culture of English-speaking people.

Other Cultural Influences

Besides association, culture has other influences on communication. It affects how much speakers reveal of themselves. This includes appropriate topics of conversation and how speakers express themselves, as well as ways of interpreting meaning from signs. Hall (1959) has proposed a Primary Message System, ten aspects of culture (to be discussed later) that influence communication. When two cultures differ in these aspects, the differences may influence the success of communication. Such cultural differences in Japan and the United States as group interaction and the horizontal or vertical natures of the societies also affect communication.

The Public and Private Self

Barnlund (1974) compared how much Japanese and Americans reveal themselves in communication. Barnlund divided the speaker into three parts in terms of communication: the unconscious portion, the Private Self, and the Public Self. The unconscious portion is the nearly inaccessible unconscious assumptions and impulses that motivate behavior. It is never purposely communicated, because the speaker is not aware of it. The Private Self refers to the parts of the person that are potentially communicable but which may or may not be communicated, depending on the circumstances. The Public Self is those aspects of experience

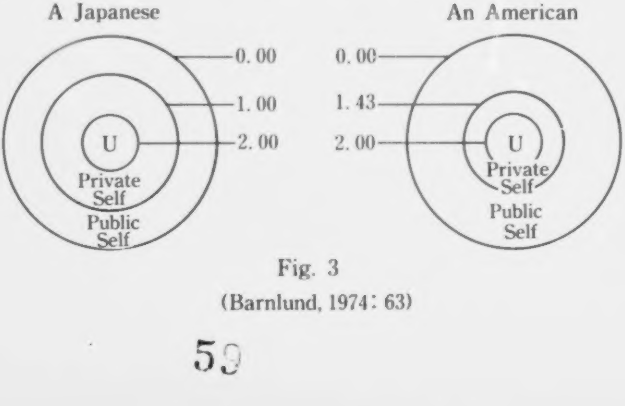

Fig. 3

(Barnlund, 1974: 63)

that are easily available and which are frequently shared with other people. In most situations, the speaker intentionally reveals only the Public Self.

According to Barnlund, as shown in Figure 3, Americans have a bigger Public Self but a smaller Private Self than do Japanese. Barnlund described the following characteristics of communication for Americans and Japanese within their respective cultures.

When they communicate, Japanese people:

1. interact more selectively and with fewer people.
2. prefer regulated rather than spontaneous forms of communication.
3. communicate verbally on a more superficial level across a variety of topics and with a lower degree of personal involvement.
4. show a reluctance for physical, as well as verbal, intimacy.
5. use defensive reactions more quickly and in a greater number of topical areas.
6. may be less known to themselves, because they explore their inner reactions less often and at more superficial levels (Barnlund, 1974).

Americans, on the other hand:

1. communicate with a larger number of people and less selectively.
2. prefer more spontaneous communication.
3. communicate their experience on a deeper and more personal level across a variety of topics.
4. seek physical as well as verbal intimacy.
5. may utilize more channels of communication, since they seek a fuller expression of the self.
6. experience less sense of threat and therefore are less defensive and resort to self concealment with fewer people and in fewer topical areas.
7. expose their inner reactions more frequently and with a greater variety of persons and are better known to themselves (Barnlund, 1974).

In a communication situation involving an American and a Japanese, if the American takes the initiative, he/she tries to communicate with the entire depth of his/her American Public Self. The Japanese feels communicatively invaded (Fig. 4-A). If, on the other hand, the Japanese takes the initiative, the American is frustrated at the amount of time spent on formalities (Fig. 4-B). The cues that guide communication within each culture become obstacles to comprehension of messages based on the communication system of the other culture.

American Style Communication

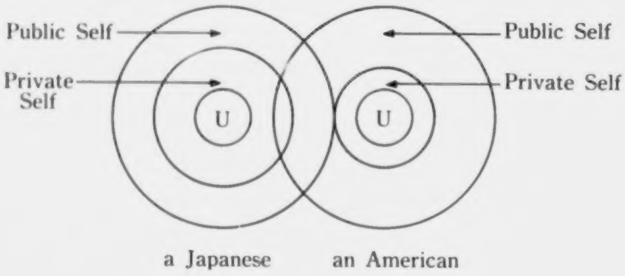
Public Self
Private Self
U
U
Public Self
Private Self
a Japanese
an American

Fig. 4-A

Japanese Style Communication

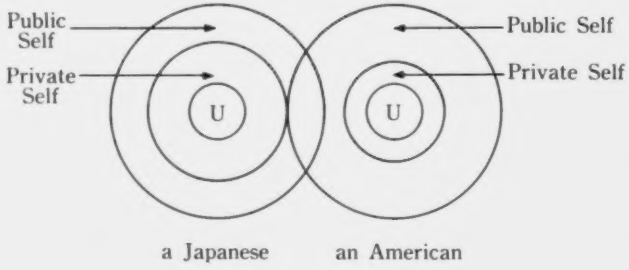
Public Self
Private Self
U
U
Public Self
Private Self
a Japanese
an American

Fig. 4-B

Hall's Primary Message System

Culture affects communication in other ways, too. It influences the time and place that certain types of communication occur, what, and what kind of, physical contact is appropriate, the physical distance between speakers, the length of the communication, and so on. "It determines time and timing of interpersonal events, the places where it is appropriate to discuss particular topics, the physical distance separating one speaker from another, the tone of voice that is appropriate to the subject matter" (Hall and Whyte, 1973: 296).

Hall (1959) suggested that a Primary Message System had ten aspects—ten kinds of human activities that influence communication. They are interaction, association, subsistence, bisexuality, territoriality, temporality, learning, play, defense, and exploitation. All of these are heavily influenced by culture; differences between cultures in these areas may act as barriers to successful communication. Only one of these aspects—interaction—directly involves language. The other nine are non-verbal.

1. Interaction is contact and communication between a living organism and its environment. The most highly developed form of interaction is speech, accompanied by gestures and tone of voice.
2. Association is the system of relationships among organisms. Human societies and organizations have an extremely wide range of variations in their systems.
3. Subsistence is related to all of the things that are necessary for the organism or society to survive. This can range from the nutritional requirements of an individual to the economy of a country. Related to this are such conventions as what topics of conversation are taboo during a meal and the relative status given a certain type of work in a given culture.
4. Bisexuality is related to sexual reproduction and the differentiation of form and function along the lines of sex. Though masculinity and femininity are often thought of as being "natu-

ral," masculine and feminine roles, speech patterns, characteristics, and so on, vary greatly from one culture to another.

5. Territoriality is the possession, use and defense of a territory by an organism. Territoriality has many different expressions, and these vary according to culture. For example, one's status may be determined by distance from the head of the table on a formal occasion. Work, play, eating, etc., all take place in certain places. Different distances are considered appropriate between people in different situations. All these are affected by culture.
6. Temporality refers to the different uses of time. For example, tempos of speech and their meanings vary from one language and culture to another. In addition, time of day, duration, punctuality, etc., can all carry different meanings in different cultures. For example, for an American, being late for an appointment communicates disrespect. However, for a member of a Latin culture, lateness is not only acceptable but socially correct.
7. Learning involves adaptation to the environment. It includes ways that the members of a society learn, and ways that they learn to learn, as well as methods used to adapt to a situation.
8. Play involves humor, entertainment, and so on. Different cultures vary according to the times, places, and subjects where humor is appropriate, the role of humor, what kinds of things are considered humorous or entertaining, etc.
9. Defense includes all the things that protect the organism. Included in defense is not only warfare, but also religion, medicine, and law enforcement. All of these are different in different cultures.
10. Exploitation means making use of materials. Human beings use materials as extensions of parts and functions of the body. For example, clothing and housing are extensions of the body's temperature regulatory mechanisms. Tools are closely related to other aspects of the Primary Message System. For example, clothes are used for play, books for learning, and weapons for defense.

Taking these into account, almost nothing can be communicated without culture. Behavior patterns communicate more of the speaker's concept than overt speech does. Understanding these behavior patterns will reveal the covert communication system.

Conventions and Logic

Americans and Japanese have different conventions of communication and logic, as Matsumoto (1976) has explained. He pointed out, for example, that Americans can limit possible answers to certain questions to "yes" or "no." In answering such questions, Japanese sometimes wish to choose neither, which is not a possible choice in English. Another difference he pointed out is that the Japanese could not always distinguish facts and opinions. He believed that the Japanese people cannot debate, because they do not distinguish clearly among people, opinions, and facts. For example, a person in power may say "A is B, because I say so." If a person does not agree with a fact or an opinion that means he/she disagrees with the speaker.

Cultural Differences

There are many other differences between Japanese and American cultures that may contribute to problems in intercultural communication between Americans and Japanese. I would like to discuss a few of the important ones here.

Groups. One of the major differences is the importance of the group as opposed to the individual. To the Japanese, the group is very important. Groups in Japan tend to be fairly stable. It is not easy to get into a particular group, and, once in, it is not easy to get out. Strict distinctions are made between those who are members of the group and those who are not. Different words are even used to refer to group members than are used to refer to people who are not group members.

Groups formed for one purpose may have other purposes as well. For example, a Japanese is likely to work and socialize with the same people. Members of one department in a company, for example, not only work together, they are also likely to go on trips together in the summer or form an athletic team.

For Japanese, the group is more important than the individuals that compose it. Group members all try to be alike. Members of a department in a company or students in a school wear uniforms that mark them as members of the group. All group members try to do the same thing and want to be treated alike. For example, if one group member marries, each of the other group members gives the same amount of money as wedding gifts.

Group members work hard to maintain the harmony within the group. A Japanese proverb says that a stake that sticks up is the one that will be hit. Group members try not to "stand out" in their group. They try to play the role that is expected of them within the group instead of expressing their real feelings. They avoid disagreeing openly with other group members. When they do disagree, they try to find indirect ways of expressing this disagreement. Such expressions as "Many people say..." and "It is said..." are used frequently so that the speaker can express an opinion without actually making a commitment to it. In discussing issues with other group members, they try to find out the opinions of the other group members before expressing their own so that the opinion they express will be in line with that of the other group members. Within the group, decisions are made by consensus through this process of "sounding out" opinions of other group members.

In contrast, Americans consider the individual more important than the group. Individual rights are emphasized more. Even within the group, Americans want to maintain their individuality. They don't necessarily want to be like all of the other group members. It is relatively easier to get into or to change groups than it is in Japan. Americans have more of a tendency to keep the various groups that they belong to separate. Harmony within the group is viewed differently by Americans. Members of a group are more free to express their disagreement. Rather than attempting to reach a consensus, decisions are made by authorized people or by a vote, though compromise may have some role in the decision-making process.

This difference between American and Japanese ways of thinking may cause some problems when Americans and Japanese work together. Americans often find the process of reaching a consensus slow and frustrating. Also, they may have difficulty understanding an opinion expressed indirectly by a Japanese speaker. As speakers, Americans may express themselves too directly and offend their Japanese hearers. A Japanese, on the other hand, does not like to express an opinion directly, especially if it disagrees with the hearer's opinion. This may make Americans feel that the Japanese is not taking an active part in the group.

Horizontal vs. vertical societies. Another difference between Japanese and American cultures that influences communication is the concept of horizontal versus vertical relationships. Japanese society is characterized as being vertical. Every person has a position in society. This position is determined by age, sex, economic and social position, educational background, and so on. Positions are emphasized by the frequent use of titles as terms of address in preference to names.

In any communication situation, it is important for the speaker and hearer to be aware of their relative positions. In the Japanese language, there are many ways for the speaker to express his/her own position relative to that of the hearer. It is important to choose the correct grammatical structures, lexical items and methods of communication to reflect this relationship. It is modest to place oneself in a lower position than that of the hearer. Assuming an equal position with a person of a higher or lower position is impolite.

In Japanese society, those in a superior position are expected to take care of the needs of subordinates. For example, in a family, parents are expected to be responsible for finding spouses for their children. In a company—which might be characterized as a large family—an employer often helps with even the personal problems of employees.

American society, on the other hand, can be described as horizontal. Americans see all people as being equal, at least in theory. This is not to say that American society is completely horizontal. There are grammatical distinctions between, for example, requests made of a superior and those made of a subordinate. However, relative position is a less important aspect of relationships in the United States than it is in Japan.

In the United States, superiors do not have the responsibilities toward their subordinates that are expected in Japanese society. Just as American parents do not have the responsibility of finding spouses for their children, American employees do not expect their employers to help them with personal problems.

These differences can cause many problems in relationships between Americans and Japanese. For an American, it may be difficult to gauge the relative position of the hearer. If the American does not speak humbly enough, he/she may unintentionally offend the hearer. A Japanese, on the other hand, may be too conscious of the relative difference in status and so may be hesitant to express him/herself to an American superior—to assert an opinion, to make a request, etc. Also, a Japanese employee of an American company may expect more help with personal matters from superiors than the superiors expect to give.

Formality and informality. Americans and Japanese also have different attitudes toward formality and informality. Maintaining formality is important in many situations in Japanese society. Using informal expressions with a stranger or a superior is very offensive. A host will take guests to an expensive restaurant to show respect for them, rather than inviting them home for dinner. Even if guests are entertained in the home, they are outsiders. It is no compliment to treat a guest as "part of the family."

Americans like to treat informally even people that they have just met. Treating another person informally is often a compliment (though it is not appropriate in every situation). Inviting guests to one's home and treating them as part of the family is the best type of hospitality.

There is much potential for misunderstanding in this area. If an American speaker treats a Japanese hearer with the sort of informality he/she would treat another American in a similar situation, the hearer may be offended, even if the speaker intended it as a compliment. A Japanese in American society, on the other hand, may maintain a relatively high level of formality, even when informality is appropriate, and therefore find it difficult to get to know people on a friendly basis. For example, a Japanese might to find it difficult to socialize with superiors on informal, friendly terms at the company Christmas party, and may unintentionally offend others with this formal manner.

Directness of expression. Japanese and Americans have different ways of expressing anything that the hearer does not want to hear, including complaints, a negative response to a request, etc. An American may well use expressions that "soften" such a complaint or negative response so that hearer will hopefully not be offended, but he/she will probably express it fairly directly. A Japanese, on the other hand, will not be direct at all and may, in fact, even state the opposite. For example, Imai (1981) lists sixteen ways that the Japanese avoid saying "no." One common way is to say "yes" first and then follow it up with a long explanation which, in effect, means "no," even though it is delivered in an affirmative tone and includes positive expressions. Others include continually changing the subject or replying, "That may not be so easy."

These differences cause obvious problems. A Japanese may be offended by the directness with which an American makes a complaint. An American may not even understand that the Japanese speaker is expressing a complaint.

Passive resignations vs. active involvement. Another difference between Americans and Japanese is passive resignation versus active involvement. Japanese people tend to be more passive than Americans. They feel that the environment controls them, whether it is the natural environment or the artificial environment. They feel humans are only an insignificant part of the universe. Americans, in contrast, believe that they have some control over their destiny. They are not passive victims but active participants. Humans, they feel, are central to the universe. This means that, when Japanese and Americans interact, Americans seem too assertive and Japanese do not seem to take an active enough role in the interaction.

Verbal expression. Another difference, pointed out by Toyama (1976), is that Japanese people talk less than Americans. For the Japanese, it is better to use few words. They set high value on *haragei* (psychological interpretation in silence) and what Kindaichi referred to as *ishindenshin* (telepathy) (but what is actually a sensitivity to nonverbal and contextual cues). In contrast, Americans admire eloquence. Kindaichi (1975) pointed out that Japanese people tend to feel that talking and writing a lot are not good. This, of course, is not a good way to communicate with Americans.

The reason that the Japanese can communicate well with each other in silence is that Japan is more homogeneous in terms of race, ethnic groups, and language than any country of similar size. This is convenient for communication between Japanese people. However, it causes a communication gap between the Japanese and Americans, as Kunihiro (1972) has pointed out. Japanese people have fewer opportunities to meet people from other countries than Americans do. The Japanese seldom directly encounter foreigners in Japan. They often experience culture shock when they meet people from other cultures. Nakane (1972) estimated that it would take three years for an American businessman to learn to work smoothly with Japanese people in Japan. However, it would take five years for a Japanese to learn to work well with Americans abroad.

Another problem of Japanese people is that they apply the techniques that they use to communicate with other Japanese to communication with people of other cultures (Kunihiro, 1972). The Japanese are still not accustomed to differentiating intercultural communication and communication with other Japanese.

Conclusion

In summary, the purpose of language is communication. Communication between people of different cultures is more difficult than among those with the same culture, just as it is among people with different languages. Knowing about other cultures and experiencing them improves the chances of successful communication with the people of that culture. Culture affects communication indirectly through association and strongly limits the content of communication. Culture also determines levels of communication, that is, how much speakers reveal of themselves in certain situations and with certain people. Methods of communication vary according to culture. Culture is also related to other aspects of communication, such as physical contact, physical distance, time, and place. Therefore, communicating successfully with people of different cultural backgrounds is difficult without knowing their covert communication systems. The Japanese are at a particular disadvantage in intercultural communication because of their homogeneity in terms of race, culture, and language. Although they can communicate well with their fellow Japanese even in silence, they have little experience in intercultural communication and often do not distinguish it from communication among Japanese people.

It is clear that successful intercultural communication cannot be guaranteed by language alone. If communication is the purpose of learning a language, it is necessary to learn how to communicate well with speakers of that language.

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II

INFLUENCES ON CULTURE AND CULUTURAL INFLUENCES

EFFECTS OF NATURAL ENVIRONMENT ON AMERICAN AND JAPANESE COMMUNICATION

Kenji Kitao

Abstract

This essay compares Japanese and American language, reflecting on the fundamental culture-based differences between methods of communication in Japan and the United States. Japanese and Americans have different systems of logic and thought, attitudes, and respective background cultures. Natural environment is one of the major aspects of background culture, and it affects the method of expression, vocabulary, topic of conversation, values, and attitudes. People in Japan tend to express themselves as a part of nature, while Americans express themselves as the center of nature. Thus Japanese sentences often begin with the conditions while English sentences start with people. Japanese also tend to use the passive voice more than Americans. In the same vein, the Japanese tend to use impersonal constructions, while Americans often use personal constructions. Natural background is one of the factors that has made Japanese descriptive and concrete and English analytic and abstract. Language is deeply related to background culture and culture is strongly affected by the natural environment. Therefore, language is influenced by its natural background in a number of ways.

Introduction

The notion that language is deeply rooted in its background culture has been supported not only by anthropologists but also by linguists for more than a century (Hoijer, 1974). The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is well known (Mandelbaum, 1949; Sapir, 1970). Language teachers, too, have supported this idea, and they believe that language should be taught within its culture (Brooks, 1964; Rivers, 1968; Finocchiaro, 1969).

Language and Culture

The purpose of language use is communication (Umegaki, 1975). However, intercultural communication is more difficult than communication among people with the same culture. Knowing other cultures and experiencing them improves communication with the people who have those cultural backgrounds. Culture affects communication indirectly through association. Thus, culture strongly limits the contents of communication. Culture also determines levels of communication, that is, how much speakers reveal of themselves (Barnlund, 1974). The ways of communication vary according to cultures. The Japanese and the Americans have different systems of logic and methods of expressing themselves (Matsumoto, 1976). Culture also relates to other means of communication, such as physical contact, time, place, human relations, and sex. Therefore, communicating with people of different cultural backgrounds effectively is very difficult without knowing their covert communication systems.

I conducted four studies in order to find out how well Japanese people understand American culture and how well they are taught American culture in English courses. These studies were 1) an examination of English textbooks in both junior and senior high schools (Kitao, 1979b), 2) a survey of teaching American culture and intercultural communication taken by sixty-three Japanese students in the United States (Kitao, 1977b, 1979d, 1978, 1980), 3) the Test of American Culture, taken by more than two hundred Japanese students in both Japan and the United States (1977a, 1979c), and 4) interviews with twenty newly-arrived students at the University of Kansas (1977b). The results of the four studies show that there is not much foundation for good communication between Japanese and Americans. As I have discussed elsewhere (Kitao, 1979a), the Japanese students in the studies had been taught very little about American culture in English courses at any level, and they did not understand American culture well. As a result, they had problems understanding Americans and communicating with them.

It is clear that language alone cannot guarantee good intercultural communication, and that the cultural backgrounds of the speakers of those languages are important factors. The cultural backgrounds can be divided into three aspects: natural environment, social environment, and traditional heritage. In the following section, I will summarize the existing literature on how American and Japanese natural environments (climate, weather, geography, etc.) affect people's thoughts, attitudes, and language.

The Influences of Climate

Influences on Japanese Language and Culture

Japan is in the monsoon zone, where humidity is nature's gift to man. A plentiful vocabulary accommodates the abundance of plants and creatures thriving in such a warm and damp environment (Kindaichi, 1957). The climate varies a lot, and the people enjoy four seasons, but it is usually mild. The rainy season comes in summer, and it rains a great deal. There are more than twenty different names for rain, depending on the seasons and kind of rainfall (Kikuchi, 1935). Examples include *ame* [rain], *kirisame* [misty rain], *shigure* [a shower in late autumn and early winter], *harusame* [spring rain], *yūdachi* [an evening shower], *gōu* [a heavy rain], *raiu* [a thunderstorm], *niwakaame* [a shower], *samidare* [early summer rain], *mizore* [sleet], *akisame* [autumn rain], and *bōfūu* [a rain storm].[1]

Many words deal with climate. Japanese people tend to talk about the weather at the beginning of greetings, particularly in letters (Kindaichi, 1957). Even major newspapers carry articles concerning climate or weather in addition to weather forecasts. The following are some examples from the *Asahi Evening News* column, "Vox Populi, Vox Dei" (Hasegawa, 1974).

> Sunday opened the week of the spring equinox. Tokyo was hit by an unseasonable fall of snow.
>
> The cherries are already in blossom in some southern districts, but on Sunday Tokyo was hit by an unseasonable fall of snow.
>
> The *rainy season front* has appeared. Like the "***harusame zensen***" [spring rain front], and "***hana no zensen***" [flower front], "***baiu zensen***" is a name given by the "elegant faction" in the Meteorological Agency.
>
> This column stated today last year with these words: "*The autumn sky is high and the prices are sky-high.*" We must use a similar expression on the same day this year.

Ikeda (1973) has pointed out that most American students wonder why Japanese people talk about weather so frequently. Americans tend not to talk about weather much, because it is considered "small talk," and except for such articles as news stories about destructive tornadoes or hurricanes, newspapers do not carry many articles about the weather (Hasegawa, 1974).

The four seasons are an important part of Japanese life. Japanese people go to see plum and cherry blossoms in spring and hold the star festival in summer, moon viewing in fall, and snow viewing in winter. One American student in my Japanese composition class wrote that if he viewed the moon and offered food and flowers to it, Americans would think that he was crazy.

Nature in the monsoon zone has power and strength, so natural calamities are often caused by storms, heavy rainfall, floods, and typhoons. These are beyond human control; all that people can do is to be receptive and passive. Watsuji (1961: 19) has stated:

> ...this humidity typifies the violence of nature. Humidity often combines with heat to assail man with violent deluges of rain of

> great force, savage storm winds, floods and droughts. This power is so vast that man is obliged to abandon all hope of resistance and is forced into mere passive resignation.

The distinctive character of human nature in the monsoon zone, then, can be understood as submissive and resigned. People lack active attitudes toward nature and experience it so emotionally that they grow very explanatory and lyrical (Umegaki, 1961).

Japanese people feel that they are controlled by great invisible powers. These invisible powers can be nature or man-made authority. Such Japanese expressions as "*un o ten ni makasu* [leave one's fate to Heaven]" and "*Nagaimono niwa makarero* [Yield to the powerful, or (literally), Allow yourself to be entwined by a long thing]," demonstrate this.

Doi (1971) mentioned that there are many expressions concerned with "*higai* [damage, injury or harm]." Many Japanese people have delusions of persecution and feel that they are victims in many ways. This *higaikan* [sensitivity to adversity] created the attitudes of "*shite morau* [to receive a favor]" and "*shite ageru* [to do a favor for someone]," which are also derived from the passive and dependent psychology of the Japanese.

Japanese passive sensitivity seems to be well expressed in the Japanese passive voice. Suzuki (1975) explains that one tries to bring his/her opinion into conformance with that of the receiver or form opinions according to others' reactions. Shimonishi (1977) conducted a survey of Japanese and American students and found that Japanese commonly use the passive voice, particularly when they are adversely affected by an action and to express a sense of passivity.

The unique passive voice in Japanese is called "*meiwaku no ukemi* [suffering passive]," which can be formed from both transitive and intransitive verbs (Doi, 1971; Howard, 1969; Kuno, 1973; Matsushita, 1961; Shibatani, 1972; Umegaki, 1961).

The suffering passive emphasizes that the speaker suffers as the result of the action described even though he/she is not the subject of the sentence.

Asobiba ni ie o taterarete shimatta.
[A building was built where the playground used to be (and I was adversely affected by it).]

The climate of Britain, on the other hand, is dry in summer and wet in winter. In this meadow type of climate, nature is mild and repetitive. People need not struggle against nature; they have time for other activities. Human society in such a climate is well developed and more emphasis is given to individuals. Watsuji (1961) states that "man is individualistic in the extreme; so in addition to segregation there is social intercourse, cooperation within division." Consequently privacy, freedom, and rights and obligations of individuals are clear and important there.

However, individualism has not been developed in Japan. Watsuji (1961: 149-150) has explained:

> In Japan, the one-ness of the nation was first interpreted in the religious sense; this is a circumstance of primitive society that can be understood only by way of myths. Before man felt or thought as an individual, his consciousness was that of the group; anything disadvantageous to the livelihood of the group restricted the actions of the individual in the form of taboo.

People are controlled by nature in Japan. They describe themselves as a part of nature. This may be the reason that actors, actions, and people who receive the actions are only parts of nature and so are not the center of description in the Japanese language—where an English speaker might begin a descriptive sentence with "I," a Japanese speaker would begin it with conditions in which he/she existed. The following are examples:

Watashi no sundeirutokoro wa Tamagawa no chikaku desu.
(Where I am living is near the Tamagawa River.)

[I live near the Tamagawa River.]

Ie niwa kingyo ga takusan iru.
(At home there are many goldfish.)
[We have many goldfish at our home.]

Hōkago YWCA de taipu no renshū o shita.
(After school, at the YWCA, (I) practiced on the typewriter.)
[I practiced on the typewriter after school at the YWCA.]

Impersonal construction is well developed in Japanese, i.e., actors are not important, and if the actor who acted is clear from the context, no noun or pronoun referring to the actor is used.

Sono tōji kimi wa ano hito to zuibun benkyō shita no desu ne.
(It is that, as for you [you] had been studying very hard with him then, isn't it.)
[You had been studying very hard with him then, hadn't you?]

Anata no goshinsetsu o kansha shimasu.
[(I) thank (you) for your kindness.]

Chikaiuchi ni asobi ni konai?
[Will (you) come to see me soon?]

The noun or pronoun designating the recipient of the action may also be omitted if the recipient is identified in the context.

Kane ga hitsuyōnara ageyō.
(If [you] need money, [I] will give [it] [to you].)

In English, people are described as the center of nature. They have conquered it and controlled it. The actor is given primary emphasis in English. This makes personal constructions (i.e., constructions in which the actor is specified) quite important.

Sentences are not usually given an impersonal construction in colloquial and informal written English unless incidents are caused by natural phenomena or sudden accidents that cannot be controlled by people.

It rained here yesterday.
It snows a great deal in Hokkaido.
It happened to him, unfortunately.

However, it is still possible to use a personal construction to talk about such phenomena.

We had some rain yesterday.
They have a great deal of snow in Hokkaido.
He had an accident, unfortunately.[2]

Conducting a study of values among students from six different nations, Morris (1956) found that Japanese students rated landscape paintings higher than other kinds of paintings, while American students selected ones of people or animals. The Japanese people like to put stones on sand to symbolize nature and to appreciate signs of nature. The Americans, in contrast, like ceramic animals, portraits, and statues of animals or people in their living rooms. They prefer signs of life (Taba, 1972). This is a philosophical difference between the two nations, as Kimizuka (1968: 117) suggested.

> ...the one (the Japanese) insists that nature is the overall universe of which the human world is infinitesimal fragments, while the other (the American) holds that nature is a background of the human world.

The difference shown above is well demonstrated in greeting in the two different cultures. The Japanese people usually pay more attention to physical environments than to people. The greeting "*Ohayō gozaimasu*," for example, literally means "It's early." Weather is a very important part of greetings. In contrast, some American greetings, such as "How are you?" or "How are you doing?" ask about the condition of the person addressed. Here the human being is the focus of attention.

Usually when a Japanese person refers to another person's health, it is in the context of weather conditions. For example, "It is cool these days. Please take care not to catch a cold."

In English, actions and people or objects that receive actions are emphasized next. So, concord of number and gender is very important in English. Actors control the following pronouns and actions; actions control objects.

> There is *a book which was* written by Mark Twain on the table, and *it is* interesting.
>
> There *are two books which were* written by Mark Twain on the table, and *they are* interesting.
>
> John think*s* that Mary hates *herself*.

Actions are clear, and there are many verbs to describe slightly different form of actions in English (Umegaki, 1961: 251, 265).

cry	wawa naku
weep	mesomeso naku
sob	kusunkusun naku
blubber	oioi naku
howl	wanwan naku
pule	hihi naku
whimper	shikushiku naku

……

laugh	haha to warau
smile	nikoniko to warau
chuckle	kutsukutsu to warau
ha ha	wahhahha to warau
giggle	ihihi to warau
snigger	nitanita to warau
simper	ohoho to warau
grin	niyari to warau
titter	kusukusu to warau

As the chart shows, Japanese uses more reduplications than English in describing actions. It often uses onomatopeia to express actions very descriptively.

The Japanese people usually describe time and place first, then actors, and people or objects which receive actions, and then emotional atmosphere and actions. Examples are shown as follows (Umegaki, 1961: 175-176):

Sakujitsu gakkō e watashi wa itta.
(yesterday, to school, I went)
[I went to school yesterday.]

Kyo ie de watashi wa benkyō suru.
(Today, at home, I study)
[I study at home today.]

Sonojibun kimi wa ano hito to hijō ni shitashiku shiteta noda ne.
(then, you, with that man, very friendly, were)
[You were very friendly with him then.]

The very last part of Japanese sentences (one word or two from the end punctuation) is the most important, the other parts acting as modifications and having interchangeable positions, as Doi (1974) has pointed out. This very last part is usually the verb or *ji* (grammatical marker), and it determines affirmation, negation, question, or command, voice, level of politeness, tense and exclamation.

Tokyo ni (anata wa) iku. affirmation
[You will go to Tokyo.]

Tokyo ni (anata wa) ika*nai*. negation
[You will not go to Tokyo.]

Tokyo ni (anata wa) iku *ka*? question
[Will you go to Tokyo?]

Tokyo ni *ike*. [Go to Tokyo.]	command
Watashi wa karera o mita. [I saw them.]	active voice
Watashi wa karera ni mi*rare*ta. [I was seen by them.]	passive voice
Tokyo ni sensei ga i*kare*ru. [The teacher will go to Tokyo.]	politer
Tokyo ni sensei ga ikare*ta*. [The teacher went to Tokyo.]	past tense
Totemo subarashii sensei desu ne. [What a great teacher he is!]	exclamation

Modifying phrases other than those referring to place and time have no strict order; they are controlled by *ji* and show a relation with the very last part of the sentence. (Even place and time phrases are sometimes placed at the middle or end of the sentence.)

sakujitsu [yesterday]—
niwa de [in the garden]— → hanashi o shita.
Hanako wa [Hanako]— [talked.]
Taro to [with Taro]—

[Hanako talked with Taro in the garden yesterday.]

These four phrases can change positions with one another.

Japanese people have many words to describe situations and emotions with sound effects. The former is called "*gitaigo*" and the latter "*gijogo*." Some examples are as follows (Hasegawa, 1974: 209-215):

gitaigo

Sassa to gakkō e kaette kita.
[Then I made a *beeline* for the school.]

Furafura to tachitaku naru.
[I wanted to stand up.]
(The underlined word is omitted in English.)

Kyorokyoro to atari o mimawashita toki,...
[By the time I *felt well enough to* look around,...]

...me wa shinkeishitsu ni *kurukuru* to hitotoki mo ochitsukanakatta.
[...his eyes *revolved* nervously and never rested.]

...jibun de katte kita biiru o hitori de *guigui* nonde makka ni natta.
[He drank a tumbler full *in one draught*, which suddenly made him become very red in the face.]

Kuro wa kare no hana no saki kara *pin* to tsupatte iru nagai hige o *biribiri* to furuwasete hijō ni waratta.
(Kuro *twitched* the whiskers which *stood out straight* from his muzzle and laughed hard.)

Ōkina mimi o shizukani *patapata* to ugokashite ita.
[...was silently *flapping* her huge ears.]

Osaka no hō no hi ga *chirachira* to umi no mukō ni miemashita.
[The city lights of Osaka *flickered* here and there beyond the sea.]

...*giragira* manatsu no taiyō ga teritsukete iru.
[The strong sun of midsummer is *shining*...]

gijōgo

Jōkyaku wa un o ten ni makase te *harahara* shinagara tōrisugiru.
[*Their hearts beating fast*, passengers speed by such places, feeling that they are placing their lives in the hands of fate.]

Watashi wa *tsuratsura* kangaete iru uchini....
[I thought and thought....]

...isshu no *ukiuki* shita chōshi ga atte...
[There was a sort of *light-hearted and cheerful feeling*...]

Beikoku zentai no *iraira* ga sōzō ijō ni hageshii rashii.
[The *irritation and impatience* of the United States as a whole is much severer than expected.]

Sore wa *tekipaki* shita gyōsei nōryoku no hakki de aru.
[It is the execution of *clear-cut* administration ability.]

Sensei mo seito mo *kutakuta* ni naru.
[Teachers and students became *very tired*.]

These onomatopoeic expressions are not exact copies of real sounds; in fact, the expression used in each of the above situations is the representation or interpretation of what people have perceived with their own sensory organs. Thereby Japanese people try to describe the situation as directly as possible, and they understand the situation and feeling well if the statement includes such perceptually-based expressions. In English, though there are some onomatopoeia which are exact copies of sounds, there is not this type of description of situations and feelings, and all examples lose their onomatopoeia in the English translations.

Influences on English

Actors are the most emphasized elements in English. What they do and to whom or to what they do it are described next. This makes English more analytic. After the main context, then explanation, time and place follow. Description is from the center to the side, so word order is very important in English. As word order is relatively strict, one word can be used as several parts of speech. Relative pronouns are well developed. Logical expressions are more intellectual than emotions. Any actions and movements can be abstracted, as in this example from Umegaki (1961: 181):

> In the hall of Petherton's house, a scene of welcome was being enacted under the dim gaze of six or seven brown family portraits by unknown masters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
>
> [Petherton ke no, hiroma no jūhachi-kyū seiki no mumei no gaka no fude ni naru tokorono, iro kusanda muttsu ka nanatsu no senzo no shōzōga ga uekara bonyari mioroshite iru tokoro de kono enrai no kyakujin wa mukaerareta.]
>
> The word order in Japanese translation is:
>
> [Of Petherton's house, in the hall, of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by unknown masters, brown, of six or seven, family portraits, (which) from above looked down absent-mindedly, at such place, this visitor from afar was welcomed.]

Abstracted phrases such as those can be subjects in English, but Japanese expressions are more concrete; movements are described by words and cannot easily be abstracted, and they cannot be subjects.

> His four-year stay in the United States made him a fluent speaker of English.
> [Kare wa America ni yonenkan ita node eigo ga jōzu ni hanaseru.]
> (Since he has been in the United States for four years, he can speak English fluently.)

Objects come last in English word order, and English sentences commonly end with a noun or an adjective. This final word order may reverse the anticipated meaning of the sentence, producing a typical form of humor in English (Ōkubo, 1973).

> The proof that women are all alike is that every one of them thinks she is different.

Men with money to burn have started many a girl playing with fire.

The sign on the church lawn announced in bold letters: IF TIRED WITH SIN, COME IN. Under it, written in lipstick, was the message, "If not, call Park 4-2378."

The Japanese language describes a scene as it is now or as it was at a certain time. The language has only past tense and nonpast tense (future and present). It does not have any perfect form. However, English can be described as more dynamic and active from the fact that it often describes time duration with the third form, perfect. Since present time is emphasized, there is a tendency to describe with the present tense. As a result, the perfect is often used.

It is possible to express the following statements in the present tense as well as past tense in English, but in Japanese, past tense is almost always used.

He is dead.
[Kare wa shinda.]
(He died.)

Mail is in.
[Tegami ga todoita.]
(The mail arrived.)

Three people are missing.
[San nin ga yukuefumei ni natta.]
(Three people disappeared.)

Conclusion

In summary, because any language is strongly related to its background culture, culture is very important for verbal communication. Culture also affects verbal and non-verbal communication indirectly. It restricts the contents of communication, and determines levels and methods of communication.

Japanese people and Americans have different systems of logic and thought, attitudes, and methods of expressing themselves, all of which are affected by their respective background cultures. This makes the communication between them difficult.

Natural environment is one the three major aspects of background culture, and it affects method of expression, vocabulary, topic of conversation, values, and attitudes.

The Japanese use the passive voice more frequently than Americans, especially when they are adversely affected by an action. Japanese people tend to express themselves as a part of nature and Americans, as the center, so Japanese sentences often start with conditions and English, with actors. Also, the Japanese tend to use impersonal constructions, but Americans often use personal constructions, except in cases which they cannot control. Concord of number and gender is very important, because the actor controls the action and the following pronouns in English. Since actions are secondly emphasized, many verbs were created in English. Japanese people try to describe situations and emotions with sound effects and have created a great number of "*gitaigo*" and "*gijōgo*."

Natural background was one of the factors that made English analytic and Japanese descriptive. English is abstract and Japanese is concrete. Japanese seldom indicates duration of time.

Since I do not have much data of languages in both the monsoon and meadow-type climate countries, this discussion is limited to Japan, Britain and the United States. However, as I have discussed in this paper, language is deeply related to background culture and, of course, culture is strongly affected by the natural environment where it developed. Therefore, language is affected by its natural background in a variety of ways.

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NOTES

1. All translated words are cited from Masuda (1974).

2. These examples with translations are taken from Matsumoto (1968), and literal translations are given by the author in parentheses.

EFFECTS OF SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT ON JAPANESE AND AMERICAN COMMUNICATION

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S. Kathleen Kitao

Abstract

The social backgrounds of Japanese and Americans differ in ways that impede complete communication. The Japanese people, historically controlled by the forces of nature, have formed groups as the minimum functioning social units. The individual is only part of the group. Disagreement, if expressed, is expressed ambiguously. Relationships are vertical, and people must determine the level of politeness to use in interactions. To maintain harmonious relationships, good speakers place themselves below the listeners, sometimes not saying enough and expecting the listener to understand by inference. Speakers may give their opinions as someone else's or someone else's opinions as their own. In contrast, native English-speaking peoples historically have not been as dependent on each other for survival; individualism and privacy are well-developed. Individuals express themselves clearly. Human relationships are horizontal, and people like to think of themselves as equal to everyone else. This is expressed in various ways, including manners of speaking and eye contact. Teaching these cultural differences in language classrooms would help improve intercultural communication.

Introduction

The purpose of language is communication, but communication cannot be achieved through language alone. Communication is part of a total cultural pattern, so good communication requires a shared cultural understanding.

Culture dictates, to a great extent, assumptions in communication and norms in physical contact and distance, time and place of communication, tone of voice, sex, etc. Because Japanese and Americans do not share this knowledge, understanding of the total message is impeded (Kitao, 1979).

The discussion of the cultural backgrounds of Japanese and Americans can include two aspects: natural environment and social environment.

The Effects of Social Environment

The Effects of Natural Environment on Social Environment

First of all, natural environment affects ways of thinking, attitudes, and language. Natural calamities occurring on their islands contributed to the Japanese sense of passive resignation toward nature. The Japanese see nature as the overall universe, of which man is only a very small part. This is reflected in their grammar, where actions and emotional atmosphere are emphasized rather than actors and receivers of actions. In England, where the English language developed, nature is milder and so people have the perception, at least, that they control it. They see the universe as a background for human action. The actor is given primary emphasis in the English language (Kitao, 1982).

The Importance of Groups in Japan

Historical importance of groups. Japanese people had to help each other cope with their harsh natural environment. They formed groups, in part to do this. The group became the minimum functioning unit in the society, of which an individual person was only a part. Cultivating rice made the sense of group stronger. A long feudal history strengthened this "group consciousness" further, and many kinds of groups were born: families, relatives, neighbors, occupations, social classes, etc. Thus, clear individual rights and obligations were not been developed, and individualism and privacy were not strongly held concepts. Once a person became a member of a group, he/she usually remained there. It was not easy to change groups (Kitao, 1982).

In traditional Japan, the individuals in the group were governed by the group, and they lived as a part of the group. Harmony within a group was very important, and as long as the members didn't disturb it, they could stay there comfortably. The first constitution of Japan, which was proclaimed by Prince Shotoku in the early seventh century, pointed out the importance of *wa* [harmony] in civil life. The first of the seventeen articles of the Constitution reads:

> Harmony is a virtue, and make it a rule not to dispute. People tend to form factions and few men are reasonable.... When superiors maintain harmony while subordinates keep good company among themselves and do not argue, reason will stand on its own (Imai, 1975:3-4).

Early Japanese protected one another and strictly distinguished their group from others. It was very difficult to enter a new group, and members were very afraid of being expelled from their own groups. *Murahachibu* [ostracism] was one of the major punishments. If people were ostracized by the other villagers, they lost all friends and means of livelihood.

Social factors in modern Japan. As a result of this historical background, individuals in modern Japan are very passive and receptive to their groups. They keep silent rather than argue. They tend to wait until they are asked to speak. When they do speak, they do not give their own opinions but suggest opinions representative of their position in the group or express their own opinions as if they were someone else's. They seldom express their "*honne*" [real intention] in public but instead express "*tatemae*" [facade of what someone in a given position or role is expected to say]. *Honne* and *tatemae* may be very different and sometimes even opposite. Group members seldom disagree openly among themselves. They do not express their emotions and their true reactions. They try to do as they are supposed to do in a group. Even if they do not express themselves clearly, others can understand them because group members have close relations among themselves.

The Influence of Natural Environment on English

In contrast, people in Britain did not need to expend as much effort in defending themselves against nature. They could concentrate on their own activities. They were not faced with the strong necessity of forming groups that the Japanese were. People were more mobile, and in their society the rights and obligations of individuals became clear; individualism and privacy were well developed. Even in the feudal age, people were independent, and they belonged to the group by agreement. Rights and obligations were clear. They could change groups if they did not like them or if they did not receive any benefits.

Influenced, at least in part, by this background, the British (and, by extension, Americans) in modern times do not have the strong group ties that Japanese people have. Since their group ties are not close, they must express themselves more clearly than Japanese people do to be understood by others. Individuals may express their opinions and emotions more clearly. The speaker is considered to be responsible for the hearer's understanding of the message, so speakers analyze their audience and make an effort to organize their messages, make transitions clear, use rhetorical devices to get attention and make the message more interesting, etc. (Bowers, 1988). Thus, Americans try to express themselves well in order that others can understand them better.

Groupism and Individualism

The Group in Japan

Even now a strong sense of the group exists in Japan. Many companies and schools have uniforms. Many companies provide lunches for their employees, and everybody eats the same lunch together. The employees are provided with entertainment during lunch and on weekends. They may take trips in a group. Once people join a group, they receive many other benefits and are under other obligations besides the ones related to the main purpose of the group. It is not easy to enter a group and become a real member, and it is not easy to withdraw from one. Many Americans don't understand the reasons for this (Ikeda, 1973), but to the group members, harmony in the group is more important than the different interests of each individual. People try to enter good groups because once they belong to a group, they can belong permanently. The alumni of each college form a group (Nakane, 1974), and one reason that many people try to go to a good college is to belong to a good alumni association.

Japanese people feel as if they are just part of the group. They do everything as a group and dislike being too independent (Doi, 1973). Okada and Okada (1973: 3) have pointed out that "basically the Japanese businessman thinks and makes decisions as part of a group. The American businessman thinks individually." Imai (1975) also has pointed out that decision-making in Japanese companies has been born out of the collective participation of people at many different levels of management. Most Japanese tourists travel in groups. They remain together from departure to return. Members try to keep harmony in their group by avoiding disputes and direct disagreements and by making decisions unanimously.

The sense of group is expressed in these Japanese proverbs. They are well known in Japan and often used in daily life.

Tabi no haji wa kakisute. [It is all right to be ashamed where no one knows you.]

Yoraba taiju no kage. [Rely upon a powerful person (or a group).]

Deru kui wa utareru. [A taller stake is hit, and all stakes will be even.]

Nouaru taka wa tsume o kakusu. [An able hawk hides its nails.]

Nagai mono niwa makarero. [You'd better not disagree with more powerful people.]

Tenseki koke musazu. [If you often change your occupations, etc., you will never achieve anything.]

Groups in the United States

Individualism is important in the United States as well as in Britain. Americans like to be independent. If they go abroad for trips, they may be in a group in order to get cheaper rates on chartered flights, but they like to travel by themselves after they arrive at their destination (Araki, 1975). In American tourist groups, members are seldom restricted by their groups (Araki, 1975). Thus, they pay less attention to others in a group than do the Japanese.

In a group, Americans might pursue the main goals together, but they tend not to do other things together. Thus, they do not have extra benefits and obligations. Once the main goals are achieved, and the purpose for the group has ceased to exist, the group is disbanded.

Another expression of the value that is put on group harmony is in the family. The Japanese would put harmony within the family above the happiness of the individuals. Americans, particularly in recent years, tend to put the fulfillment of the individual above the family. Advice columns reflect this difference. When responding to a letter from an unhappy wife, advice from Japanese and non-Japanese advice columnists may be very different. The Japanese is likely to give the wife advice as to what she can do to improve the relationship; a non-Japanese may advise the wife to at least consider leaving her husband (McCooey, 1984).

Japan and the United States

Gillespie and Allport (1955) studied the attitudes of youths in ten different countries toward their personal lives and future careers. They found that Japanese young people especially valued the qualities of "good citizenship," "social usefulness," and "service to society," which are obviously connected with their strong sense of social obligation to their society. On the other hand, they found that the Americans emphasized their rights rather than their duties to their social group and put much emphasis on the value of individuality. This study supports the assertion that the sense of group in Japan and of individualism in the United States reflect the different attitudes of those people.

Another study, Barnlund's (1974) contrasted profiles, shows the differences between these two nationalities. Barnlund conducted a study of 122 Japanese students and 42 American students in Tokyo. He asked them to describe the attitudes of the two nationalities when they talk by selecting five adjectives from a list of thirty-four.[1] The adjectives most favored in describing the Japanese people were "reserved," "formal," "silent," "cautious," "evasive," and "serious;" and those favored for describing the Americans were "frank," "self-assertive," "spontaneous," "informal," and "talkative" (Barnlund, 1974).

In another study on how the Japanese people react toward other people, Barnlund (1974) asked his Japanese students at International Christian University in 1968 to write ten sentences to describe themselves. The most frequent ideas given were:

I try to behave according to my role and circumstance.
I try to be as polite as possible.
I try to pretend to be calm and cool even when I am not.
I rarely show my true self.
I don't say all of what I think.
I escape difficult questions.
I try to keep the conversation pleasant.

I use words that won't hurt anybody.
I try to behave smoothly.
I never talk about inner feelings.
I try not to disagree.

In Japanese society, keeping a good position is important, and people are afraid of causing shame to other members of their group. In Japanese homes, when parents want to tell their children not to do a certain thing, they say that if the children do it, others will laugh at them. So children learn what they are not supposed to do and say. They learn not to express their true feelings in public.

Nakane (1970) describes Japanese society as having vertical organization and analyzes human relationships in terms of groups and intergroups. Kimizuka (1968) supports Nakane's idea and characterizes Japan as a nation of vertical human relationships, and the United States as a nation of horizontal relationships. Since human relationships are vertical in Japan, people have to judge whether other people are higher or lower than or equal to themselves, and they have to decide on a level of politeness to use when they talk with them. When people meet each other, they often exchange name cards that tell which group they represent and what title or position they hold in those groups. Then they can decide who is higher. On the phone, it is more difficult to decide, and people use the politest expressions until they find out their relative positions. Even in English, there are several ways to express politeness, but in Japanese there are many more. One characteristic of a good speaker is the ability to assume a position lower than that of the hearers in order to be polite to them.

People are often referred to by their positions, particularly in the cases of superiors, using their family name and title, for example, teacher, manager, chairman, president, etc. Often, the position or title is used instead of the name. Some people use their position or title instead of "I." For example, a teacher may say, "You have to listen to the teacher."

There is a stronger tendency for a Japanese speaker to put the hearer in the center of the conversation than for an American to do so. This is a matter of politeness in Japan, and there are many words or expressions which make the listener the reference point. For example, in Japanese, the use of "yes" and "no" does not show the affirmative or the negative content of the speaker's judgment but whether the answer (judgment) agrees or disagrees with the question. For example, in Japanese if one asks, "You don't like this, do you?" the answer is, "No, I do," if the reply is positive and "Yes, I don't," if the reply is negative.

Japanese people try to respond according to the expectations of their listeners. They try to avoid saying "no" clearly because they do not like disagreements, particularly with their superiors, as Yamaoka (1974) has pointed out. "(Saying no) is rude, impolite, uncivilized, demoralizing, and might hurt the other person's feelings. Saying no is a cardinal sin in Japan," according to Imai (1981: 7). If disagreement is necessary, there are sixteen ways to avoid saying no (Ueda, 1974). One of the most common ones is saying yes and then following this with an explanation which may last half an hour and which, in effect, means no. Another one is saying no ambiguously (Imai, 1981). Though the speaker does not express disagreement clearly, listeners are expected to understand by inference. Since, in Japanese, the conclusion appears at the end of a sentence, speakers can change their conclusions according to the reaction of the speaker as they speak. Also, the subject is often not stated, and speakers can give their opinions as if they were someone else's or someone else's as their own. "It is said..." is a commonly used expression in Japanese. Yamaoka has pointed out that American newspapers are very strict about stating clearly whose opinion they are giving, but not so Japanese newspapers (Yamaoka, 1976). Speakers can omit the conclusion at the end and let listeners guess. Japanese is good for ambiguous expressions.

In contrast, in English the speaker is usually the center of utterances. Judgments of "yes" or "no" may be based on his/her own idea and not in agreement with the question. For example, if one asks "You don't like this, do you?" the other answers "Yes, I do," if the reply is positive and "No, I don't," if the reply is negative. Americans are more likely to state their opinions clearly. They show their disagreement more openly than the Japanese. Americans are more likely to assert their ideas directly and clearly as their own ideas, even if they go against the listener's wishes.

In English, the speaker is the center of utterances, and individualism is well developed; thus, there is the tendency for Americans to use "I" and the Japanese, "we." In English, the speaker is most important, and many utterances are from the point of view of the speaker. For example, one of the common forms for a compliment is "I like (your shirt, that color, and so on)." In Japanese, a speaker would seldom pay a compliment by stating what he/she likes. A compliment would be more likely to describe how nice the shirt is or state that its color is nice. Japanese people try to avoid saying "I." Americans tend to talk individually and the Japanese, as a member of a group.

The sense of responsibility is treated in the same way. In American society, the individual person has a clear responsibility, but for the Japanese, responsibilities are not as clear. Japanese people tend to take responsibility as a group. In many cases, company decisions are approved with a consensus, rather than a vote, in meetings, and it is difficult to express disapproval when other people agree. In many cases, spade work is done before the meeting, and the majority of people already agree with the agenda (Imai, 1975). Even if something goes wrong, an effort is not usually made to find out who is responsible and assign blame. Americans, on the other hand, would be likely to try to find out who was responsible for a mistake. Individual responsibility is very weak among the Japanese.

Generally speaking, Americans do not like to apologize because an apology means that they are taking responsibility for something (Yamaoka, 1973). On the other hand, the Japanese often say "*Sumimasen* (I'm sorry)," even when they are not at fault, to preserve harmony in the group. One example that demonstrates this difference is the story of a tour guide who was supposed to meet an American tourist at his hotel. Due to a misunderstanding about the place they were supposed to meet, the tour guide did not find his customer until an hour after the agreed time. When the guide apologized, the American took this as an admission that it was his mistake and became angry. However, the tour guide had not intended to take responsibility for making a mistake but only to smooth over the situation (Naotsuka et al., 1981).

Just as individualism is a highly developed concept in American society, so is the idea of equality of position among individuals. Americans tend to think of themselves as equal to everyone else, in theory, at least. Narita (1974) has pointed out that individualism was well expressed in the use of expressions such as "please," "thank you," "you're welcome," "excuse me," and "certainly," because expressions of gratitude, etc., are necessary between individuals, where they might not be in a group, with its lines of obligation and benefit (Yamaoka, 1974). In America, a speaker may keep his/her position the same as the listener's. A speaker is more likely to express opinions straightforwardly and show agreement or disagreement more clearly than a Japanese would (Yamaoka, 1974).

People are not equal in Japanese society. Relative positions are decided by age, sex, social position, economic and social class, educational background, etc. Levels of politeness are very complicated. There are many levels of expression. Another characteristic feature is that Japanese people do not try to assume a position equal to that of their listeners but rather a lower one. This is modest in their view, and being modest is important. The reason for this is that Japanese people try to keep their positions in their groups, and to do so they have to keep peace with the others. One way of being modest is to refrain from accepting things offered by other people the first time. This is a part of Japanese manners, and the host repeats the offer to them (Kanayama, 1976). Doi (1973) writes of the time that he visited an American friend and was offered ice cream. Though he wanted the ice cream, he followed this Japanese manner and refused, assuming that the offer would be repeated. The American host, however, did not repeat the offer, so Doi did not get the ice cream that he wanted.

The Japanese people distinguish expressions used with the members of their group from those used with nonmembers. Group members are dependent upon one another and interact with one another more frequently. They expect others to understand even if they do not express themselves well. Particularly, subordinates expect their superiors to take good care of them. People try to do as they are supposed to do, and if they cannot, they feel ashamed. They hate to feel ashamed, and they avoid doing anything that is unnecessary or that they do not have confidence that they can do. As it is most important to keep peace with others, it is not important for the individual to express emotions honestly. People just try to avoid disagreement, and often affirmatively nod even though they do not agree. They keep their positions lower than others; they do not look at each other's eyes, but look down. This looks dishonest to Americans.

For Americans, eye contact is very important, and this is a way to keep equal personal relations. If people are walking on the street and happen to make eye contact, they smile, and even say "Hi!" even though they do not know each other (Iizuka, 1974).

Individualism and privacy are very important in American culture. Making a reverse use of these produces trust and friendship (Yamaoka, 1976). Americans have more definite personal space around themselves, and they try to avoid physical contact with strangers (Nishiyama, 1972), If they do touch someone, they say, "Excuse me." To show friendliness, Americans use physical contact, such as shaking hands, hugging, kissing, etc. In shaking hands, an American may put a hand on the other's shoulder if the relationship has some degree of closeness. They put their hands or arms on or around each other to show friendliness (Barnlund, 1974).

In American culture, the best hospitality is to invite guests into the home and show them the house (Yamaoka, 1973). However, this does not include giving the guest the seat of the host or the hostess at the dinner table. The host and hostess also keep their own rooms rather than giving them up to their guests and maintain their positions as heads of the house. Children often participate in the hospitality (Aida, 1972). While guests may not exactly be part of the family, they are not complete outsiders, and they are treated informally. They do not expect the schedule of the family to revolve around them, but they try to fit in with the family's schedule.

In entertaining, formality is most important for the Japanese. The best hospitality is to take guests to nice restaurants. The hosts seldom have guests at home. If they do, the guests are the masters of the home, and they are given the best seats at the table and stay in the best room in the house. The family's schedule may be completely changed for the guests. Guests are still outsiders, and they can see only a part of the house; they may see only the husband and wife; they may eat dinner without the host and the hostess, who may just wait on the guests. Except in very informal cases, guests do not eat meals with all members of the family. The host and hostess keep themselves lower than guests. They offer tea and food using such expressions as, "Here is some poor tea," or "This is nothing special to eat, but please eat it." The host and hostess have to make the best decisions for the guests and choose the best drink, food, method of cooking, etc. Since every guest is served the same thing, it is very difficult to choose what is best for everyone. They even decide how much sugar and cream should be put in their guests' coffee.

Conclusion

In summary, Japanese people are controlled by nature, and, in order to cope with it, they must help one another. To this end, they have formed groups, which have become the smallest functioning units of society. The individual is only a part of the group. This group-consciousness has been strengthened by a long feudal history and by the cultivation of rice. Individualism and privacy are not strongly-held concepts, and individual rights and obligations have not been clearly developed. Harmony in the group is the overriding concern. Therefore, individuals are passive and hesitant to disagree. If they do express disagreement, they try to do so ambiguously.

In Japan, relationships are vertical and people have to judge whether other people are higher, lower, or equal to themselves in order to know what level of politeness to use when talking to them. In order to maintain harmonious relationships, good speakers place themselves lower than the listener. Sometimes, speakers do not say enough and expect the listener to understand by inference. Since the subject of the sentence is often not stated, speakers may give their opinion as someone else's or someone else's as their own.

In contrast, the people of Britain experienced milder weather and so were not required to be as dependent on one another for survival. In Britain as well as in the United States, individualism and privacy are well developed and individual rights and obligations are clear. Individuals express their own opinions and emotions clearly. Human relationships are horizontal; Americans like to think of themselves as equal to everyone else. This is expressed in gestures, manners of speaking, and eye contact.

As has been shown in this paper social backgrounds differ between Americans and Japanese. These differences impede complete communication. Teaching these cultural differences in language classrooms would surely help improve intercultural communication.[2]

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NOTES

1. These thirty-four adjectives were: formal, independent, talkative, close, shallow, serious, dependent, calculating, warm, tense, reserved, frank, trusting, competitive, masculine, spontaneous, open, impulsive, cool, seeking a protective relationship, relaxed, evasive, silent, self-assertive, infor-

mal, distant, deep, suspicious, humorous, cautious, indifferent, cooperative, feminine, and responsive.

2. All translations from Japanese were made by the authors, referring to Masuda (1974). In order to keep as close as possible to the original idea in English, each selection was translated as directly as possible. For the convenience of readers, the writers translated all titles of Japanese books, articles, and periodicals unless they were given English titles by authors or editors.

   In the description of Japanese words, the writers have again referred to the method adopted for Masuda (1974) and tried to transcribe them as closely as possible into English pronunciation. Borrowed words from English were given English spelling even in Japanese in order to avoid confusion. Japanese words are underscored and translations bracketed for clarification.

THE GROUP IN JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES

S. Kathleen Kitao

Abstract

There are a number of important differences between American and Japanese cultures. However, one of the most important is the difference in group interaction. Japanese have been described as group-oriented and Americans as individualistic. In Japan, groups are hierarchical and decisions are usually made by consensus. Japanese groups play an important role in the lives of their members, and the same group may serve several purposes. In contrast, American groups are less hierarchical, and decisions are usually made by voting or by an appointed person. Purposes of groups tend to be compartmentalized, i.e., each group serves only one main purpose. In this paper, various types of groups are discussed, including the family, clubs, the university, and the company. Characteristics of American and Japanese groups are discussed, along with differences in their interaction styles. Also, problems that these differences are likely to cause are discussed, with suggestions for Americans and Japanese working together in groups.

Introduction

When Japanese and American culture and communication styles are contrasted, a number of differences are commonly cited. Relationships in the United States are characterized as being horizontal (i.e., equalitarian) while relationships are described as vertical (i.e., hierarchical). Japanese people stress formality, while Americans like to be informal.

Japanese people prefer to express themselves indirectly while Americans communicate their opinions directly. Americans admire eloquence in spoken language while the Japanese try to communicate through silence and distrust eloquence. However, if a single dimension of culture could be said to best characterize the differences between two cultures, that dimension for Japanese and Americans would probably be their group interaction and the part that the group plays in the social structure.

Group Orientation vs. Individualism

In comparing Japan with Europe, Hazama (1982: 53) writes that "In modern European society, the central social value is considered to be individualism. In Japan, however, the corresponding value that forms the nexus of society is groupism." Hazama's statement about individualism in Europe could apply equally well to the United States, if not more so. Reischauer (1977) describes the attitude toward the group as the most significant difference between Japanese and American cultures. This difference is sometimes exaggerated— "The actual situations...are much less widely different than the American Lone Ranger myth, for example, or the traditional Japanese ideal of selfless merging with the group" (Reischauer, 1977: 127)—or used to oversimplify the situation and characterize differences between Japan and the United States along a single dimension (Cleaver, 1976). However, the ways that Japanese and Americans relate to the groups to which they belong, as well as the ways that they consider themselves in relation to the group, does say much about their characters and communication styles. In addition, these differences often cause misunderstandings and poor communication between Americans and Japanese who work together in a group setting or even when they communicate one-to-one.

According to Hazama (1982: 55), if individualism is defined as "the dignity of the individual human being" or "the ultimate moral principle of the supreme and intrinsic value," groupism can be characterized as placing higher dignity on the group than on the individual. That is, group members feel morally obligated to devote themselves to the best interests of the group, even if it means sacrificing their own.

Groups in Japan

The Family

Families in Japan are arranged hierarchically. The parents are at the top of the hierarchy, followed by the children in order of age. A Japanese does not refer to his/her siblings as simply "my brother" or "my sister;" the age relationship is also stated, e.g., my younger brother or my older sister (Gibney, 1973).

The concept of family is somewhat different in Japan than it is in the United States. One Japanese word for family is *ie*, which denotes more than just the nuclear family, or even the extended family. The *ie* is the family line. Its meaning would be similar to the meaning of "The House of Windsor." Though this idea is not as central as it was before World War II, it still has importance. Most families keep a family altar in their home with the names that their ancestors were given after death and pictures of the ancestors, draped with black ribbon. Almost all parents hope for sons to continue the family line; if they do not have a son, they adopt one, often the husband of a daughter. This adopted son takes the family name, and the family line is continued through him. The oldest (or adopted) son inherits the family home and much of whatever wealth and property there is. Unless there are no sons, daughters are expected to marry and become members of other families; younger sons may start new family lines of their own, or remain in the family as part of the collateral line. Another word used for family is *uchi*, which also has the meaning "inside." This indicates the strict distinctions made between those who are inside the family and those who are not.

The University

The university as a group. Groups are a very important part of higher education. One group is the college or university itself. Most students do not attend more than one university, and links established during college education can affect a student throughout his/her career. Hiring practices are often based on the college that one attended. Students who do well enough on entrance exams to be admitted to one of the top universities in the country have a good chance of getting good positions in government and industry. In addition, university affiliation plays a part in promotion. The "old boy network" of a university is also useful to its graduates (Christopher, 1983).

Groups within the university. Within each university, groups are also very important. Students belong to clubs including sports clubs, art clubs, and volunteer clubs.

As in the family, there is a strong hierarchy within these clubs. Japanese groups members use the expressions *sempai* [a senior] or *kohai* [a junior] or a *dohai* [an equal] to refer to other group members (Gibney, 1975).

The Company

The company is another type of group. A Japanese worker is likely to identify him/herself in terms of the company he/she works for rather than according to the position held (Gibney, 1975). Many positions are based on "lifetime employment," so that workers will work for the same company for their entire working lives, though they may hold different positions in that company during their career. As with a university, there are many groups within the company, including sports teams and groups that share certain interests, such as English language study or ham radio. Members of the same section also have strong cohesiveness. In Japan, the company is not only a place of employment; employees socialize with each other and the company may provide help with personal problems.

Since companies do almost all of their hiring each year in March and April, and since almost all of the new employees are new college graduates, there is a special relationship among employees who enter the company at the same time. Also, the relative number of years of service of employees is important in the structure of the hierarchy.

The Nation

The Japanese consider all Japanese to be part of one large group. It is a group that one belongs to by virtue of having been born Japanese. No one who is not of Japanese descent can join this group. No non-Japanese, even one born in Japan who has the ability to speak Japanese as a native speaker and who can follow all of the complex social rules that the Japanese share, can become part of the group. In fact, Japanese people have difficulty believing that Caucasians can learn Japanese at all. During World War II, the Japanese were so convinced of this that they barely bothered to code their secret messages (Christopher, 1983).

Conversely, it is hard for the Japanese to believe that any person ever leaves that group. Second and third generation Japanese-Americans, many of whom speak little or no Japanese, face many special difficulties in Japan, because native Japanese expect anyone who looks like a Japanese to be able to speak and interact as another Japanese would. Japanese-Americans say that native Japanese often think that they are "showing off" when they speak English, or that they are either crazy or stupid when they do not understand Japanese.

The Japanese believe that Japan is unique—more unique than any other culture. Because Japan is so unique, in their view, the Japanese have, as Gould (1972: 71) described,

> an unshakable conviction that no non-Japanese can ever understand the nuances and intuitive perceptions of the Japanese. In many travels over many years in all parts of Japan, I have never met a Japanese who truly believes that the foreign mentality can share the Japanese experience or aspirations.... It seems [to be] the Japanese perspective that experiences of Japan are by that fact alone totally different from the rest of the world.

Groups in the United States

The Family

The family is the most basic group in the United States. As in Japan, it is in the American family that children learn what their society expects of them and how to interact with others. In the American family, children learn to be independent from others. While it is difficult to make generalizations about American child-raising practices, one purpose of the family is usually considered to be the development of independent adults.

> The American stress on the individual as a concrete point of reference begins at a very early age when the American child is encouraged to be autonomous. The self-centeredness of the child is seldom questioned. It is implicitly accepted that each child or person should be encouraged to decide for himself, develop his own opinions, solve his own problems, have his own things, and, in general, learn to view the world from the point of view of the self (Stewart, 1972: 72).

From a fairly early age, children are given their own rooms, if at all possible. They are given an allowance and/or expected to perform chores around the house in order to learn to be responsible about money. As teen-agers, they are gradually given more and more control over their decisions and activities. As adults, they may ask their parents for advice or help, but they are expected to make their own decisions and live with the consequences of those decisions (Stewart, 1979).

Birth order has little significance in a hierarchical sense, though obviously children at different places in the birth order may be treated differently. Especially once siblings become adults, birth order has little significance.

Though some parents may want sons in order to "carry on the family name," the family line does not have the importance in the United States that it does in Japan. Though there has been a resurgence of interest in tracing family trees since the mid-seventies, many Americans know little about their family histories beyond their grandparents.

There are no particular customs related to division of inheritance, though state laws may specify a certain percentage of a parent's estate to be distributed to each child, preventing any one child from being completely disinherited. Generally, some effort is made to divide money and property equally among all the children.

The University

Universities in the United States are less group-oriented than those in Japan. Graduation from a certain university does not play as great a role in hiring practices as do personal qualifications. Groups are also less important within the university. Many students do not belong to any clubs. In relationships among students, hierarchy is of little importance. While students may be aware of their relative academic levels, they are not especially important in a hierarchical sense.

The Company

In part because of Americans' attitudes toward independence, companies are less important as a group than in Japan. Americans generally see themselves as autonomous individuals who choose at one particular time to sell their skills to a particular company, but who are free to sell their skills to another company if they are dissatisfied with their present company or if a more enticing offer is made. Therefore, Americans will generally identify themselves in terms of their jobs first and their companies second (Gibney, 1975).

Within companies, groups are less important than they are in Japan. For example, companies do not have a particular "hiring season," so all new employees do not enter the company at the same time each year. Also, new employees are not all recent college graduates; many of them may have spent years working for other companies. Therefore, though employees may be honored for a certain number of years of service, the number of years that an individual has worked for a company does not necessarily play an important role in the hierarchy of the company, and an employee is not likely to have a special bond with people who entered the company at the same time.

American employees socialize relatively little with their co-workers. They prefer to keep the group that they work with separate from the groups that they socialize with.

Characteristics of Japanese Groups

The above discussion of Japanese and American groups may give the reader some ideas of the characteristics of Japanese and American groups and how they differ. I would like to discuss those characteristics in more detail here. It should be kept in mind that these characteristics are not dichotomous; they are points on a continuum. For example, Japanese may be said to be group-oriented and Americans individualistic, but this does not mean that Americans do not care anything at all about groups or that Japanese do not hold any opinions of their own.

Stability

One characteristic of Japanese groups is their stability. It is not easy to get into a particular group, and, once in, it is not easy to get out. Students work hard, often from the time they are in grade school, to pass university entrance examinations. Once admitted to a university, most students graduate from that same university. Transferring to another university is rare. Also, though it is extremely difficult to be admitted to a university, it is relatively easy to graduate, so most undergraduates who enter a university do complete a bachelor's degree. Companies are also very careful about hiring new full time employees, since full time employees usually stay with a company for their entire working life, and it is difficult or impossible to fire someone. During that time, the company will spend a great deal of money training these employees. In part because it is so difficult to enter a group, distinctions are made between those who are members of the group and those who are not. Different words are even used to refer to group members than are used to refer to people who are not group members.

Overlapping Purposes of Groups

A second characteristic of Japanese groups is that those formed for one purpose may have other purposes as well. For example, a Japanese is likely to work and socialize with the same people. Members of one department in a company not only work together, they are also likely to go on trips together in the summer or form an athletic team. University club members also take trips together during vacations.

In a Japanese group, group members all want to be alike (Harris, 1979). Members of a section in a company or students in a school wear uniforms that mark them as members of the group. All group members try to do the same thing and want to be treated alike. For example, rewards and recognition are given to groups rather than to individuals.

Harmony and Decision Making

In a Japanese group, all members work hard to maintain harmony. For a Japanese, harmony means unanimity of opinion, without any (openly expressed) disagreement. As a Japanese proverb says that the nail that sticks up is the one that will be pounded. Group members do not want to "stand out," so they try to play the role that is expected of them within the group instead of expressing their real feelings. They avoid disagreeing openly with other group members. They tend to wait until they are asked to speak. When they do speak, they do not give their own opinions but suggest opinions representative of their position in the group or express their own opinions as if they were someone else's, using such indirect ways of expressing this disagreement as, "Many people say..." and "It is said...," so that they can express an opinion without actually stating that it is their own. They seldom express their *honne* [real intention] in public but instead express *tatemae* [what one is expected to say, in a given position and role]. *Honne* and *tatemae* may be very different and sometimes even opposite. Thus, group members seldom disagree openly among themselves. They do not express their emotions and their true reactions. They try to do as they are supposed to do in a group. Even if they do not express themselves clearly, others can understand them because they have close relations among themselves. They set a high value on *haragei* [psychological interpretation in silence] (Kindaichi, 1957). In discussing issues, group members try to find out the opinions of others before expressing their own, so that the opinion they express will be in line with that of the other group members. Within the group, decisions are made by consensus through this process of "sounding out" opinions of other group members.

> The Japanese is the world's committeeman par excellence. Their deliberations are time-consuming, wordy, and, to an outsider, consistently exasperating. But they generally end up with the kind of true consensus that is an envy to us all (Gibney, 1975).

However, this method of decision does have drawbacks. It is difficult for the group to change course once the decision has been made, and minority opinion may tend to be suppressed (Katō, 1974).

The reason that the Japanese can communicate with each other in silence is that Japan is more homogeneous in terms of race, ethnic groups, and language than any country of similar size. One factor in this is the fact that the educational system is highly centralized. The Ministry of Education approves only a limited number of textbooks for use in the public schools, so a public high school student in Hokkaido is likely to get an education very similar to one in Kyushu. This is convenient for communication between Japanese people (Kunihiro, 1972).

It is not only in a situation where it is necessary to disagree that Japanese people find it desirable to use indirectness. In any situation where it is necessary to tell other group members something that they do not want to hear, the Japanese will try to use indirect methods. For example, the Japanese do not like to complain, but if it is necessary, they do it as indirectly as possible. In some cases, they will even state the opposite of what they are complaining about. In one case, a Japanese woman who wanted to complain that her neighbor's daughter was practicing the piano too late did so by commenting on how well the girl was doing, how diligent she was, and what long hours she practiced. The girl's mother understood the neighbor's intention and said that she would not let her daughter practice so late any more (Naotsuka et al., 1981).

> The Japanese language is particularly well-suited to the type of indirection that the Japanese use. For example, in English, possible answers to certain questions can be limited to "yes" or "no." In Japanese, it is possible to choose neither (Matsumoto, 1976: 26-27).

Hierarchy

As mentioned at the beginning of this paper, Japanese society is characterized as being vertical, that is, hierarchical. Every person has a position in the group determined by age, sex, economic and social position, educational background, and so on. Positions are emphasized by the frequent use of titles, such as *bucho* [section head or manager] or *kaicho* [president of a company] as terms of address in preference to names.

In Japan, the position of group leader is particularly important. If the group was formed by a certain person, that person may take the position of leader, or the leader may be appointed by someone outside the group. If not, the group's first order of business is to choose a leader. The leader may be chosen by vote or by consensus. If the leader is chosen by consensus, this may be a long process, since it is considered polite to denigrate one's own fitness to be leader.

Other than the position of leader, roles and obligations may not be explicitly defined and designated in Japanese groups. Group members may meet to work together rather than assigning tasks for members to do outside of the meeting.

In any communication situation in Japan, it is important for the speaker and hearer to be aware of their relative positions. In the Japanese language, there are many ways for speakers to express their positions relative to that of the hearer. It is important to choose the correct grammatical structures, lexical items and methods of communication to reflect this relationship. It is modest to place oneself in a lower position than that of the hearer. Assuming an equal position with a person of a higher or lower position is impolite.

In Japanese society, those in a superior position in a group are expected to take care of the needs of subordinates. For example, in a family, parents are expected to be responsible for finding spouses for their children. In a company, an employer often helps employees with even their personal problems. By the same token, superiors are responsible for their subordinates' mistakes. After the crash of JAL Flight 123 in 1985, the president of Japan Airlines offered to resign from his job, though his actions did not directly contribute to the crash.

Characteristics of American Groups

The Individual vs. the Group

Americans consider the individual more important than the group. Individual rights are emphasized more. Therefore, a person may enter a group when it suits his/her purpose, but is likely to leave if these goals change or are not being met (Stewart, 1972). Most universities are easy to enter in comparison with Japanese universities, and it is not at all unusual for students to transfer from one university to another during the course of their undergraduate work. In fact, some students transfer more than once. While, of course, American employers are careful about whom they hire, they do not expect their workers to stay with the same company for their entire working lives. American employees generally feel free to change companies, if it seems to be in their best interest to do so.

Americans have a tendency to keep the various groups that they belong to separate. A group formed for one purpose serves mainly that one purpose. Any other purpose it serves in addition is incidental and usually minor or at least informal. While co-workers may become friendly, many, if not most, of an employee's social contacts are likely to be with people outside of the company (Lanier, 1981).

Even within a group, Americans want to maintain a certain amount of individuality, or at least they want to be able to treasure the illusion of individuality (Stewart, 1972). They don't necessarily want to be like all of the other group members. Given a choice, most Americans prefer not to wear uniforms, and gradually even professions that have traditionally worn uniforms are getting away from the practice in the United States.

Harmony and Decision Making

While Americans value group harmony, they define it differently than Japanese people do. Harmony does not necessarily mean that there is no disagreement; it means that all group members are free to express their own opinions, whether or not they agree with the opinions of others. This does not mean that there is no effort to soften the tone of disagreement. For example, one group member does not necessarily disagree with another by saying, "You're wrong." Expressions like "I see what you mean, but..." or "You have a good point there, but have you considered..." are used to express disagreement. Rather than attempting to reach a consensus, decisions are made by authorized people or by a vote, though compromise may have some role in the decision-making process.

Group Hierarchy

American society is sometimes described as horizontal. Americans see all people as being equal, at least in theory. Groups generally have a leader, either one who is formally appointed or elected or one who has taken a leadership role for some other reason. A leader may emerge gradually as the group goes about its tasks by virtue of a particular expertise, personality trait, etc. Groups may have little formal structure beyond that. However, tasks are assigned explicitly and often carried out outside of group meetings.

In spite of the fact that American groups are likely to be less hierarchical than Japanese groups, American society is not completely horizontal. There are grammatical distinctions between, for example, requests made of a superior and those made of a subordinate. However, relative position is a less important aspect of relationships in the United States than it is in Japan.

American groups vary widely in the importance they place on the position of leader and on how that leader is chosen. As with a Japanese group, the leader may be the person who formed the group or may be appointed by someone outside the group. The group leader may be elected or arrived at by consensus. In some cases, there is no official leader.

In the United States, superiors do not have the responsibilities toward their subordinates that are expected in Japanese society. Just as American parents do not have the responsibility of finding spouses for their children, American employees do not expect their employers to help them with personal problems. Superiors also have less responsibility for a subordinate's wrong-doing, unless there is some direct relationship between the superior and the subordinate's actions.

In keeping with the separation of different types of groups, superiors in American groups do not necessarily help subordinates with personal problems. It is generally considered inappropriate to "bring one's personal problems to work," except to the extent that a supervisor might, for example, help arrange a leave of absence if one is necessary for taking care of personal business.

Problems of Communication Between Americans and Japanese

The differences in attitudes toward the group and in communication styles in the group cause many problems in relationships between Americans and Japanese. In this section, I would like to discuss some of those problems.

Decision Making

The difference between American and Japanese ways of group decision making may cause some problems when Americans and Japanese work together. Americans often find the Japanese process of reaching a consensus slow, frustrating and difficult to understand. However, trying to circumvent the process will cause serious problems. In addition, once a consensus is reached, the decision is carried out swiftly, with no foot-dragging by group members who were not consulted in making the decision, as may easily happen in an American company (Naotsuka et al., 1981).

As mentioned earlier, one reason that Japanese people communicate well among themselves is that Japan is relatively homogeneous. Unfortunately, the cues that serve them well when communicating among themselves do not work when communicating with non-Japanese people. Most Japanese have few opportunities to meet people from other countries. They seldom encounter foreign culture in Japan, so they are not accustomed to differentiating between communication with Japanese and with non-Japanese people. They often experience culture shock when they meet people from other cultures. They may try to apply the only strategies they know for communicating, those that they use with other Japanese, such as indirection and silences, to communication with non-Japanese people (Kunihiro, 1972). This generally does not work with Americans, who are accustomed to communicating more explicitly (Matsumoto, 1976), and this makes it difficult for Japanese to adjust to working with people from other countries (Nakane, 1972).

Indirectness of Expression

Another problem is that Americans may have difficulty understanding what a Japanese speaker means when he/she uses indirect expressions. Indirect expressions may be used to complain, to refuse, and generally to tell hearers anything that they do not want to hear. In fact, speakers may say the opposite of what they intend to express. Therefore, a great sensitivity to the meaning of silence, the context, and the nuances of the situation is necessary. This type of problem is not unusual between Americans and Japanese, especially in a group setting, since not only what is actually said but what is not said and silences are both important.

The following dialogue (Naotsuka et al., 1981: 192) illustrates the Japanese way of saying "no." Though it does not involve a group context, it illustrates clearly the problems that might arise in such a case. In this dialogue, Mr. F, a foreign businessman, is talking to Mr. J, a Japanese businessman. Mr. F is trying to find out whether Mr. J's company has decided to go ahead with business talks between the two companies or drop the negotiations. Mr. J seems to know what his company has decided but is reluctant to give a clear answer.

Mr. F: I wish to know your decision.
Mr. J: Would you like to have a cup of tea?
Mr. F: Oh, thank you very much. What is your answer?
Mr. J: Oh...Let me see...By the way, can I ask you how many people are employed in your office?
Mr. F: I want to have a definite answer from you now.
Mr. J: It is terribly difficult for me to answer you now. I'll go and ask Mr. T. I'll be back soon. Please excuse me. (After about twenty minutes, he comes back.) How about tea? Won't you have some more tea?
Mr. F: Thanks. What did Mr. T say? What is his opinion?
Mr. J: I'm awfully sorry, Mr. T has taken the day off.

While this stonewalling approach may occur in the U.S., it is not a typical way of saying "no."

As a speaker, an American may use direct expressions and offend the Japanese hearer. A Japanese, on the other hand, does not like to express an opinion directly, especially if it disagrees with the hearer's opinion. This may make Americans feel that the Japanese is not taking an active part in the group. In one case, a Japanese member of a discussion group at a university used silence to respond to statements with which she disagreed, in order to express her disapproval. In addition, however, when someone said something that she agreed with, she also did not respond, because her opinion had already been expressed. (Other Japanese people would have been able to understand from her non-verbal signals whether her silence indicated disapproval or agreement.) The American students were upset with her because of her lack of participation.

Stability

While Japanese groups are generally stable, Americans, as individualists, usually prefer to retain the right to join or leave a group (Stewart, 1972). For example, Americans move from one company to another more readily than Japanese do, and Japanese companies make a greater effort to avoid laying workers off than American companies do. This may cause problems when American companies hire Japanese employees or vice versa.

Hierarchy

The hierarchical nature of groups in Japan, in contrast to the equalitarian nature of groups in the U.S., can cause many problems in relationships between Americans and Japanese. An American may not show enough sensitivity to the hierarchy and therefore may unintentionally offend other group members. A Japanese, on the other hand, may be too conscious of hierarchical differences and therefore may be hesitant to assert opinions, make requests, etc., even when it would be appropriate. This may be misinterpreted by an employer or teacher as lack of interest, not having an opinion of one's own, etc.

The opposite problem is also possible. If a Japanese observes, for example, that American employees use a supervisor's first name, the Japanese might assume that the employees do not defer in other ways. Therefore, the Japanese employee might act too familiar with the employer or seem too pushy.

Assignment of Tasks

Since tasks are not usually explicitly assigned in Japanese groups, Americans may have difficulty understanding what is expected of them. They may either do a task that they are not expected to do or fail to do something that other group members expected of them.

Purposes of the Groups

The fact that Japanese groups are intended to fulfill more than one function may cause misunderstandings between Americans and Japanese. Members of the same department in a company not only work together but socialize. Personal or family excuses are not acceptable, as they would be in an American setting. This is something that foreign wives of Japanese company employees often complain about. Their husbands often spend evenings socializing with members of their department rather than coming home, even for important family occasions such as anniversaries or children's birthdays. It is difficult for a foreign wife to understand the importance that this socializing has to group cohesiveness in Japan.

Suggestions for Intercultural Communication

The differences that Japanese and Americans have in their attitudes toward the group may cause many problems in intercultural communication. Though these problems are not insurmountable, the solutions to them are not necessarily simple. Below, I would like to make some suggestions that I believe would make this interaction easier.

The first and most obvious suggestion—and yet, it seems, sometimes the least employed, even by people who should recognize its importance (Gibney, 1975)—is that Americans and Japanese who have contact with one another should learn as much as possible about one another's attitudes, values, and behavior. This includes not only information about what communication behavior is expected in a given situation but how those behaviors fit logically into the pattern of the culture as a whole and an openness and appreciation for that pattern. It is easy, for example, for Americans to criticize the amount of time that the Japanese decision-making process takes, without recognizing that it is closely related to the emphasis that a people with dense population patterns put on group harmony or the amount of time saved in the process of carrying out a decision when all of the people involved have agreed to it before it was made (Naotsuka et al., 1981).

Americans should recognize that, as mentioned above, arriving at a consensus plays an important role in Japanese society and makes the carrying out of the decision smoother than "majority rule" might. Americans should be patient with this process and try to participate in it. While the group is attempting to arrive at a consensus, Americans should not strongly assert their own opinions but try to figure out what most of the group members think. In disagreeing with the opinion of most of the other group members, Americans should hint at this opinion without expressing it strongly. They should not directly ask another group member for an opinion. It is by carefully listening to the general discussion that they can figure out who holds which opinions.

Japanese members of a predominantly American group, on the other hand, should make an effort to express their own opinions during the discussion process, even though this may be uncomfortable. It is important to consider various aspects of a decision before making the decision, and other group members will not usually think well of a member who does not participate and help with this process. If American group members really want to get the opinion of a Japanese member who may not feel comfortable asserting an opinion, it may be best to discuss the issue in general terms and give that person a chance to become comfortable in expressing an opinion.

In any situation that involves telling Japanese hearers something that they do not want to hear, whether it is a refusal or a complaint, it is important to do so indirectly in order to avoid offense.

Japanese people working with Americans, on the other hand, must learn to speak more directly than they are accustomed to doing in Japanese. At the same time, they must recognize that this does not mean that complaints, refusals, etc., can be stated baldly; English has certain expressions used to soften these functions.

Both Americans and Japanese should be aware of the differences in their attitudes toward the hierarchy of the group. Since Japanese put a great deal of emphasis on the relative status of group members, Americans should be aware of these differences and act accordingly. Japanese people should realize that Americans put less emphasis on the hierarchy, though certain types of deference are important. It is best to observe how American group members behave and imitate them, for example, whether they use their supervisor's first name or how they go about disagreeing with him/her.

Since tasks may not be explicitly assigned in Japanese groups, American members should be careful to clarify their tasks, if they are not sure of what is expected of them. This can be done by asking questions of other group members.

When working with a Japanese group, Americans need to realize that belonging to that group may include more obligations (as well as benefits) than those the main task entail. In an American group, other members would understand if, for example, one member could not go to a bar for a drink after the meeting due to a family obligation. In a Japanese group, however, such excuses are not really acceptable. Americans should recognize that this socializing is an important part of the role of group member.

This is obviously not an exhaustive list of suggestions for Americans and Japanese working together in groups. Other guidelines could be suggested.

Conclusion

The relationship between Japan and the United States is a very important one. This contact takes place in many areas, including business, government, tourism and education. It is therefore important that Japanese and Americans strive to understand each other's patterns of communication. One very important area is that of attitudes toward groups. Understanding these attitudes and having guidelines as to how to interact in groups will improve the communication between Americans and Japanese.

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DIFFERENCES IN THE KINESIC CODES OF AMERICANS AND JAPANESE

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Abstract

While nonverbal communication was once considered innate, it is now recognized that cultures vary widely in their use of nonverbal communication, including kinesics, (communication through body movement, including gestures, facial expression, and gaze.) The nonverbal communication systems of Japanese and Americans are quite different. In this paper, the differences between American and Japanese society and culture which contribute to these differences are examined. These include historical and social factors. Examples of the differences and of the misunderstandings that can result are analyzed and illustrated, using a system of classifying kinesic codes into categories according to function. Suggestions are made for teaching kinesic codes in second language instruction in two areas—encoding and decoding kinesics and kinesics in literature.

Introduction

Scholars who study communication among members of different cultures have come to agree that the study of intercultural communication is incomplete without the consideration of meaning conveyed by nonverbal means (Ramsey, 1979).

In this paper, we consider the particular subdivision of nonverbal communication called kinesics. Kinesics can be defined as the study of body movement, including various types of gestures and facial expressions but excluding touch.

The Study of Kinesics

Before World War II, the study of kinesics largely ignored cross-cultural differences. Studies that were done up to that time were generally done within one culture and were based on the assumption that the same gestures had the same meaning in other cultures (Jensen, 1985). These studies asserted or implied that body movements and gestures were instinctive and biologically determined and therefore did not vary among cultures. However, contemporary scholars agree that most nonverbal meaning is learned rather than natural (LaBarre, 1947). (One of the exceptions is the expression of emotion, at least some of which seems to be universal [Ekman and Friesen, 1969].)

Kinesic codes play an important part in any communication. Because of their importance in conveying meaning, they can be the cause of misunderstanding between people of different cultures. Due to differences in American and Japanese cultures, Americans and Japanese use kinesic codes quite differently. In this paper, we will discuss some of the differences between American and Japanese society and culture that contribute to differences in their use of kinesic codes. Using Ekman and Freisen's system of classifying kinesic codes, we will give examples of these differences and the misunderstandings they can cause when Japanese and Americans attempt to communicate. Last, we will discuss how kinesic codes can be taught in English classes in Japan to promote better communication between Americans and Japanese.

Factors Affecting Use of Kinesic Codes

Historical Factors

There are three important historical factors that influence the ways in which the Japanese use kinesic codes.

The Tokugawa Period, 1603 to 1867. For over 250 years, the Japanese were ruled by a highly centralized, authoritarian military government. Hearn (1904) described nonverbal behavior during that period. He wrote that the nonverbal behavior of the masses of people was strictly regulated, including the degree of smile a person should show when taking an order from a superior. An elaborate code of deportment was developed. Not only did the code require that any anger or pain be hidden but that opposite feelings should be expressed. Samurai women were required to express joy when hearing that their husbands or sons had been killed in battle. No natural expression of grief was allowed. This strict code is obviously no longer enforced. However, philosophically, it still has a great influence on the public behavior of the Japanese in that even today they rarely show their emotions in public and tend to hide negative emotions. The "poker face" is still the ideal (Morsbach, 1976). This is discussed in more detail in the section about examples of differences in affective expressions.

Homogeneity. All the mass immigrations to Japan took place before about 500 A.D. The small number of immigrants that have come in the 1500 years since then have been, for the most part, absorbed into the larger population. (The major exceptions to this are Koreans who were brought to Japan during World War II and a relatively small number of Southeast Asians and Westerners.) In addition, Japan was isolated from the outside world for more than 250 years during the Tokugawa Period. During this time, Japan's culture developed entirely without the influences of the outside world. The cultural and racial uniformity that resulted from these two situations have, in part, resulted in a country of over 100 million that is the most homogeneous modern nation of its size. The people therefore are able to communicate with relatively few words and depend on shared knowledge and nonverbal codes to help them communicate their full meaning and to use nonverbal codes to communicate meanings that they prefer not to verbalize (Morsbach, 1976; Ting-Toomey, 1985).

Hall (1976) differentiated between high context cultures and low context cultures. In a high context culture, most of the information is contained in the context, and relatively little of it needs to be coded. In a low context culture, less of the information in contained in the context, and more must be coded. Hall classified Japanese culture as a high context culture and American culture as a low context culture. This indicates that Japanese tend to rely more on meaning included in the situation or on nonverbal communication than on meaning coded verbally, and that Americans rely more on meaning coded verbally.

Zen Buddhism. Another important historical factor is the influence of Zen Buddhism. Though historically the majority of Japanese have never practiced Zen, it was adopted by the influential samurai classes between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries and became the basis for their code of conduct. This, in turn, became the ideal for many who belonged to the lower classes. Certain aspects of Zen are still influential throughout Japanese society. Zen teachings place a great deal of emphasis on understanding through nonverbal means. In Zen teachings, a large part—often the essential part—is left unsaid (Morsbach, 1976).

Social Factors

Parent-Child Relationships. Observations of mother-child interactions in Japanese families and in American families indicated that Japanese mothers had significantly less vocal interaction and more bodily contact with their infants than American mothers (Caudill and Weinstein, 1969). Japanese mothers, as a rule, would pick up their infants almost as soon as they began crying and hold them until the babies went to sleep. In contrast, American mothers would let their children cry until they fell asleep. As Morsbach (1976) pointed out, American mothers seem to foster independence in their children, while Japanese mothers tend to foster dependence. American mothers create a physical distance between themselves and their children and bridge that gap mainly through verbal communication; Japanese mothers keep their children close to themselves and depend more on nonverbal communication.

Intragroup Relationships. Japanese generally think of themselves as being members, first of all, of a group. As Hazama (1982: 12) writes, "In American society, the central social value is considered to be individualism. In Japan, however, the corresponding value that forms the nexus of society is groupism." Reischauer (1977), one of the foremost American authorities on Japan, considers attitude toward the group as being the single most significant difference between Japanese and American culture.

For most women, their primary group is their family, especially their children. For most men, the main groups are the company where they work and the family, though they spend the greatest amount of time at the company. The group is most important, and Japanese people are likely to have relatively few important contacts outside the group. This means that group interactions are particularly intense and group members know each other exceptionally well. As Nakane (1970) pointed out, this high degree of involvement in interpersonal relationships may create a highly developed system of postures and expressions that is used to avoid confrontation and conceal hostility in these close relationships.

Within groups, decisions are often made by reaching a consensus. This is a long, drawn-out process in which group members talk around the subject of the decision, sounding out one another's positions, until they can arrive at a decision that everyone in the group can agree with (Gibney, 1975). During this process, group members try to decode other members' nonverbal behavior to find out what their true positions are, since group members do not necessarily state their positions openly.

Avoiding Restricted Subjects. Like members of any other culture, the Japanese have certain subjects that they do not like to discuss verbally. There are numerous restrictions on what a person is allowed to comment on. Japanese often get around this by using kinesic codes. For example, it is impolite to mention money, but a Japanese can use a gesture (a circle formed by the thumb and forefinger, similar to the American gesture for "OK") to communicate the concept of "money."

Distrust of Verbalization. Due to the various historical factors mentioned in the previous section, the Japanese have come to have a distrust of verbalization, making nonverbal communication particularly important. As Kunihiro (1976: 56) writes,

> To the Japanese, language is *a* means of communication, whereas to the people of many other cultures, it is *the* means. Japanese tend to be taciturn, considering it a virtue to say little and rely on nonlinguistic means to convey the rest....Even Japanese who have a good command of a foreign language reveal these tendencies in that language. They assume that the other fellow "understands without my saying it...."

Kunihiro goes on to state that Japan is an endogamous society, meaning that the members share so many of the aspects of their daily life and consciousness that they develop the kind of intuitive nonverbal communication that family members living under the same roof have.

Because they distrust verbalization, the Japanese tend to be generally more sensitive to nonverbal communication than Americans (Condon, 1984). As Condon points out, this can cause difficulties between Americans and Japanese. A Japanese may feel that he/she was communicating, for example, dissatisfaction, by nonverbal means. However, an American may not feel that he/she should be expected to know about or react to the dissatisfaction unless it was put into words.

Some Specific Examples

Ekman and Friesen (1969) have developed a system for classifying kinesics into categories according to function. In this section, we will consider similarities and differences between Japanese kinesic codes in terms of their five categories.

Emblems

The type of kinesic code in which the differences are most obvious is in the class of gestures known as emblems. Emblems are nonverbal acts with a direct verbal translation, usually displayed deliberately. There are both similarities and differences in the ways that Americans and Japanese use emblems.

Some emblems that the Japanese use are readily understood by Americans. For example, a circling motion with the forefinger near the temple indicates that the person being discussed is crazy. Also, an extended forefinger placed against the lips is the emblem for, "Be quiet." This type of emblem does not generally cause any misunderstanding between Japanese and Americans.

Some emblems are confusing because they resemble emblems that have different meanings for Americans. As mentioned above, the emblem that means *money* to a Japanese is similar to the one used by an American to indicate *OK*. In certain contexts, these two emblems may be confused. In one case, an American and Japanese wanted to make arrangements to meet some friends. The American called from a pay phone, and signaled to the Japanese, using the American emblem for "OK" that the friends would be able to meet them. The Japanese interpreted the emblem as meaning that more coins were needed for the pay phone and rushed over to put in more money. (To add to the confusion, the American meaning has also been adopted by some Japanese, so that even among themselves, Japanese may have confusion over the meaning of this emblem.)

Another emblem that appears similar but has a different meaning, and therefore is confusing for American and Japanese communicating with each other, is the emblem that means *come here*. The Japanese emblem is performed with the arm stretched out, the palm down, and the fingers flicking. The appearance is similar to the American gesture for *go away*, leading to confusion, especially if the context is not clear.

Another example is a thumb extended up from the fist. This "thumbs up" sign indicates agreement or approval for Americans, but for Japanese, it refers to a father, patron, or gang leader (Seward, 1968).

Some emblems used by Japanese are completely unfamiliar to Americans. The little finger pointed straight up is used to refer to a girlfriend, wife or mistress. It is used when the speaker does not want to mention or guess the relationship between the hearer and a certain woman.

When Japanese wants to refuse something that is offered, they usually wave one hand back and forth rapidly in front of their faces.

Another emblem that has no equivalent American emblem is *oni* (demon). The two forefingers extended and placed alongside the head indicate a demon, and, by extension, anger. A wife is not allowed to comment verbally on her husband's anger, but she may use this gesture to indicate that he is angry.

There are two other common emblems that are used to communicate meanings that could not be communicated verbally. One is the crooked index finger which indicates that the person in question is a thief ("hooking" onto things that do not belong to him/her). The other is licking the tip of the little finger and brushing it over the eyebrow, which indicates that the person in question is a liar.

Bowing is a very important part of Japanese interpersonal communication. The Japanese bow to show respect in a wide variety of situations. The Japanese bow when greeting, when making a request, when apologizing, when acknowledging another person's presence or actions, when congratulating, and when leave-taking.

While the basic meaning of the bow is not difficult for Americans to understand, the rules associated with bowing are complex and difficult for outsiders to completely master. In general, when people are bowed to, they bow in return, though there are exceptions to this rule. Doctors, for example, do not return bows of nurses while doing their rounds, and customers do not return bows of clerks when walking through department stores. The relative status of the people involved determines the depth and angle of the bow and the number of repetitions necessary. The social inferior bows more deeply, and the superior decides when to stop bowing. This can be a delicate matter among people who are of nearly the same status, because there is no clear superior and because both want to be polite. They often engage in what Morsbach (1976) calls a "bowing contest" or "one-downsmanship" in which each tries to outdo the other in the politeness of their bow.

Bowing is so automatic and ingrained that Japanese can be seen bowing to their conversational partner when talking on the telephone. One of the authors of this paper bows when speaking Japanese on the telephone, but not English. He did not realize that he did this until it was pointed out to him.

Japanese generally do not expect Americans to know the complex rules for bowing. It is rare for foreigners to totally master bowing (LaFrance and Mayo, 1978). However, if a Japanese bows to an American, and the American does not respond with a bow, the Japanese will be embarrassed and unsure how to behave. Japanese and Americans in social situations in Japan sometimes compromise by shaking hands and bowing at the same time, which can be awkward.

Illustrators

Illustrators are nonverbal acts directly tied to and meaningless without speech. For example, if a speaker says, "It was this long," while holding his/her hands two feet apart, this is an illustrator.

As far as we were able to find, there is no research on the differences between the use of illustrators by Americans and Japanese and no anecdotal evidence related to differences. However, it is our impression that Japanese generally use illustrators less in normal conversation. This may be because they do not value the type of dynamism that frequent use of illustrators might add to the verbal stream. Another reason is that the Japanese language is inherently vague (Matsumoto, 1976), and receivers are willing to accept more ambiguity.

Affect Displays

Affect displays are expressions of emotion. Though some researchers feel that at least some ways of expressing emotions are universal (Ekman and Friesen, 1969), there are certainly differences in the ways that they are used in different cultures. The different ways that emotions are expressed in a culture are said to be governed by *display rules*, a concept originally developed by Klineberg (1940). Display rules are culturally learned and tell members of a culture what emotional expressions are acceptable under what circumstances. Display rules dictate whether an emotion should be qualified (have another expression added to it), modulated (intensified or deintensified) or falsified (replaced by an unfelt emotion) (Ekman and Friesen, 1975).

The display rules for American culture allow Americans to express their emotions in public more than Japanese do, though, of course, there are sex differences, and not all emotions are acceptable for American to express. The Japanese have a greater tendency to hide their emotions, especially negative emotions, usually through falsification. Friesen (1972) found that American and Japanese subjects showed similar affect when viewing a stressful film alone but that Japanese subjects showed less affect than Americans when viewing a stressful film with peers. This appears to indicate that the Japanese have display rules against expressing emotions in public.

In American culture, smiling is thought to convey pleasure, enjoyment, and occasionally nervousness or embarrassment. While smiling can be used in positive ways by Japanese, too, it is also very commonly used to express discomfort, embarrassment, shyness, surprise, and so on. The Japanese often smile, particularly when speaking to a superior, to hide whatever emotions they may have underneath (Tada, 1972).

A smile may also be used to hide more negative emotions such as anger and grief, even if those emotions are perfectly natural and acceptable. Seward (1968) cites an example of a Japanese maid who smiled when asking her American employer for time off to attend her husband's funeral, and later laughed when pointing out the urn that contained her husband's ashes. The American, not surprisingly, considered these expressions of emotion strange and callous, but to a Japanese, such concealment of emotion is heroic. This tendency to hide even what might be considered natural emotions sometimes causes difficulty in communication. Americans may assume that the fact that Japanese do not show emotions indicates that they do not feel any, that they are uncaring, unfeeling or cruel (LaFrance and Mayo, 1978), and this assumption has the potential to cause serious misunderstandings.

Regulators

Regulators are nonverbal acts that maintain and regulate turn-taking in conversation. They are used to indicate the end of a turn, the desire for a turn, and so on.

Eye contact is important as a regulator in conversations (Knapp, 1978). However, Americans and Japanese have different conventions related to eye contact. Americans learn to maintain eye contact during conversations (though they do not do maintain eye contact as much as people of certain other cultures, such as members of some Arab, Latin American, and Southern European cultures) (Gardner, 1987). Avoiding eye contact can be interpreted as insincerity or a sign of weakness (Hattori, 1987). Japanese, in contrast, learn to look in the general area of the speaker's Adam's apple (Morsbach, 1976). Japan is a hierarchical society, and people of lower status behave modestly by averting their gaze. Japanese consider mutual gaze the equivalent of seeing into the mind of the other, and only feel comfortable with mutual gaze in relationships of strong mutual reliance (Hattori, 1987).

Hattori (1987) found that bilingual and bicultural Japanese people who had lived in the United States attempted to maintain eye contact more in conversation than monocultural Japanese. The majority of them also found people who avoided eye contact in conversation at least somewhat unfriendly, somewhat impolite, and somewhat disrespectful. He concluded that the bicultural Japanese had internalized Americans' attitudes toward eye contact. This indicates that Americans not familiar with the Japanese conventions related to eye contact may consider Japanese who do not maintain eye contact unfriendly, disrespectful, and impolite. This can cause serious misunderstandings between American and Japanese, because a Japanese person may be trying to show respect, but the American may interpret it in the opposite way.

Between Americans, eye contact may be decreased in an attempt to terminate a conversation (Knapp, 1978). Since Japanese use much less eye contact than Americans, Americans may interpret the lack of eye contact, among other things, as a desire to terminate the conversation.

Another difference between Japanese and American conversation is that the Japanese are more comfortable with silence and believe that they can communicate in silence. For Americans, this silence may be uncomfortable or may seem to indicate a lack of comprehension. Instead of watching for nonverbal cues that would indicate what the Japanese person is trying to communicate, or cues that would indicate that he/she is formulating a verbal answer, Americans tend to try to explain the point or ask the question again.

The meaning that nodding has in the two cultures is also different. Americans generally nod during a conversation when they agree or wish to give the impression that they agree. When Japanese nod, this may indicate agreement, but it does not necessarily. If a Japanese is nodding when an American is speaking, the American will probably assume that the listener is agreeing. This may not be the case (LaFrance and Mayo, 1978). Nodding may be intended to indicate sympathy, admiration, or simply comprehension, without indicating agreement. Many American businesspeople have assumed that nodding meant yes and have continued their conversation on this assumption. They have later been surprised to find later that the Japanese did not agree with any of their proposals (Tada, 1972).

Adaptors

Adaptors are nonverbal acts that are intended to meet emotional needs. They include nervous habits such as tapping a pencil on a desk and comforting behaviors such as hugging oneself.

There is also little research related to differences in uses of adaptors between Americans and Japanese. Pucel and Stocker (1982) did a study using self-reports from groups of American and Japanese participants on stress behaviors in response to communication apprehension in public-speaking situations. They found that Americans reported using adaptors more frequently than Japanese did (25% of the American respondents vs. 9% of the Japanese respondents) and also reported avoiding eye contact more often than Japanese did (25% vs. 13%). While the researchers admit that these differences may have been caused by the fact that American students had more experience in public speaking and therefore more self-awareness, the difference in use of adaptors in particular is interesting. (Since Japanese use less eye contact to begin with, they may not be able to decrease their eye contact very much in response to communication apprehension.) Possibly Japanese use fewer adaptors in an effort to keep their nervousness from being obvious. Or, as mentioned above, it may be that they are just less aware of the adaptors that might "give away" their nervousness.

An adaptor used by Japanese women that is not common among American women is the covering of the mouth in awkward situations. We could not find any studies that mentioned it, but it is something that we have both observed very frequently. The origin and purpose of this gesture are not clear, though it seems to be used to hide embarrassment.

Teaching Kinesics in the English Class in Japan

In recent years, achieving communicative competence in a second or foreign language is a goal that has received considerable attention. Though researchers do not agree on the percentage of a message carried through nonverbal channels, language teachers are coming to realize that efforts to achieve communicative competence must include nonverbal competence in the target language (Fitch, 1985; Waltman, 1984). We will now consider the teaching of nonverbal communication in English classes in Japan from two points of view: encoding and decoding kinesics in interaction and kinesics in literature.

Decoding and Encoding Kinesics

Many language learners do not have an awareness of the breadth and importance of nonverbal communication. For many students, nonverbal communication will mean gestures and nothing more (Waltman, 1984). It is important that teachers help students become conscious that nonverbal communication means much more than that.

One important step in learning about nonverbal communication is having an understanding of the target culture itself. While not all nonverbal communication is a logical outgrowth of the culture where it developed, some of it is, so understanding the culture will help in understanding nonverbal communication. For example, understanding something about the hierarchical nature of Japanese society would give a foreigner some understanding of the conventions related to bowing, eye contact, etc.

Since a teacher cannot reasonably expect to cover everything students should know about kinesics, Waltman (1984) suggests how priorities might be established. Emblems are an easy place to start, since they are easy to teach and since some of them will overlap between Japanese and American cultures. The first priority might be to teach emblems that have a negative meaning in the target culture. For example, the emblem that Japanese use for refusal (waving the hand back and forth quickly in front of the face) is offensive to some Americans, and Japanese should be advised to avoid using it. The second priority might be to teach more positive emblems, emphasizing which emblems are similar to the ones Americans use and which ones are different.

Greig (1980) suggested a step-by-step program for teaching students about emblems. The program includes testing students on emblems that Americans use in order to find out how much they already know, making students aware of the importance of gestures, and assigning students to make observations.

Gardner (1978) made several suggests for dealing with nonverbal communication in the language classroom. He suggested a quiz of emblems as a starting point for discussing cultural differences in intercultural communication. He also suggested giving students various concepts on slips of paper (e.g., "Come here/go away," "That's expensive," and "Be quiet") and having students act them out, using gestures, body, head and eye movements, and facial expressions. He suggested demonstrating greetings and leave-takings for different situations, such as greetings between friends who had not seen each other for two days, two months, and two years.

Another area that Japanese students should be taught about is eye contact. As mentioned above, Americans use eye contact more often and more intensely than Japanese do. Americans are likely to think that a person who avoids eye contact is disrespectful, deceitful, submissive, or uninterested, though too direct a gaze might be interpreted as indicating a challenge or sexual invitation (Fitch, 1985). Japanese should learn to increase their eye contact when speaking English, while not "overdoing it" and should have opportunities to practice appropriate eye contact.

Fitch (1985) emphasizes that nonverbal communication does not necessarily have to be taught separately from verbal communication, that students, in fact, benefit from the interaction of the two. She suggests activities that might be used to stimulate awareness and knowledge of nonverbal codes. The most useful is role playing, an activity already widely used in language teaching. The role plays that a teacher already uses might be expanded to include various areas of nonverbal communication. For example, in a role play of an interaction between an American professor and a student, eye contact might be emphasized, since the Japanese student's impulse will be to avoid eye contact to show respect, a behavior that might be interpreted negatively by an American professor. Illustrators are another category of kinesic code that might be emphasized in role play, since Japanese seem to avoid using illustrators and may need to learn to be more specific and concrete when speaking English than they normally are in Japanese.

In the area of eye contact, Gardner (1987) recommends have students make observations of nonverbal behavior in public. In addition, he suggests that students can observe the reactions of other people to the breaking of rules for nonverbal communication (though students should not do anything that would offend the other person).

Kinesics in Literature

Some Japanese students will rarely if ever have contact with native English speakers outside the classroom, so learning to use kinesics in interaction will not be particularly useful to them. However, they may read books in English, and, as Kobayashi (1975) has noted, the many references to kinesic codes in books written in English can be a barrier to the understanding of a Japanese reader, since, first, the reader may not understand the description of the body movement, and second, the reader may not understand the significance that that movement has for native English speakers. Therefore, it is not enough that the Japanese reader learn the vocabulary for different body movements. It is also necessary for him/her to learn the significance of those body movements.

In a series of articles, Kobayashi (1983a, 1983b, 1983c, 1983d, 1984a, 1984b) gives examples of this, including emblems, illustrators, affect displays, and adaptors, from a variety of sources.

1. Mr. Goodwin appeared in the inner doorway and crooked his finger at me. (*The Chill* by Ross MacDonald)
2. Reagan's response was to cross the fingers of one hand above his head... (*Time*, Nov. 21, 1980)
3. "A pretty girl?" He demonstrated what he meant with his hands. (*The Beethoven Medal* by K. M. Peyton)
4. "How much (will it cost)?" "Five hundred." Howell didn't blink. (*The Galton Case* by Ross MacDonald)
5. Mary, clinching her hands, dug her nails into her palms in order to force herself to speak naturally. (*Up at the Flat* by Joan Lingard)
6. Henry shuffled his feet, looked at her, shuffled his feet again, picked his nose, and rubbed his left ear. "Just something I—I wondered if you—I mean—if you wouldn't mind my asking you." (*Postern of Fate* by Agatha Christie)

An American reader would most likely have no difficulty recognizing that the emblem Reagan used in Example #2 indicated a wish for good luck, that Howell's not blinking in Example #4 indicated that he was not surprised, that the adaptors Henry used in Example #6 indicated that he was exceedingly nervous. However, a Japanese reader unfamiliar with the kinesic codes that Americans use would not be likely to understand the implications of any of these examples and therefore may miss some of the writer's intended meaning.

Kobayashi does not give any suggestions for solving this problem. However, it seems obvious that if uses of the kinesic code are pointed out to students when they encounter them in reading assignments, this will increase their understanding of the text. Also, teachers might consider teaching students common parts of the kinesic code, so that they will recognize them and understand them when they encounter them.

Conclusion

Nonverbal communication plays an important part in communication as a whole. When the communicators come from different cultures, with different rules for nonverbal communication, there is a great deal of potential for misunderstanding. Because of a variety of historical and social factors, Japanese and Americans have developed different systems of nonverbal communication and different attitudes toward verbal and nonverbal communication.

Because of these differences, it is important for Americans and Japanese to have some understanding of one another's nonverbal codes and attitudes toward verbal and nonverbal communication. As English teachers in Japan, we feel that one important place for Japanese to learn about nonverbal communication with Americans is in the language classroom.

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DIFFERENCES BETWEEN POLITENESS STRATEGIES USED IN REQUESTS BY AMERICANS AND JAPANESE

Kenji Kitao

Abstract

In Japan, absolute social status and power relationships among people are clearer than in the United States. The Japanese language supports this social system with the use of a special polite language ("*keigo*"), structural use of which is similar to polite language in English. The differences lie in the degrees of familiarity used and in the complexity of the relationship between speakers, as well as in interpretations of the relationship. For example, in a request, if the listener is superior to the speaker, the Japanese tend to acknowledge the superiority more, using more negative politeness (politeness that minimizes imposition and increases distance) than do Americans. In English, inviting others into a group by use of informal language is polite, whereas in Japanese keeping others outside the groups is the polite form of behavior. Thus, Americans tend to use more positive politeness (politeness that includes the hearer in the speaker's group and meets the hearer's need for approval) than Japanese do, and Japanese usually use negative politeness to those outside the group. The paper concludes with a discussion of research on differences between politeness usage of Americans and Japanese in English and questions for future research.

Introduction

As Japan's economy grows and international transportation develops, more and more Japanese people are visiting the United States for business, study, vacations, etc., and are encountering Americans in everyday settings where communication is necessary. Their problems in communicating in English thus become more and more significant as areas of research.

One area of communicative competence in which Japanese people have problems is politeness (Saito, 1985). An early study suggested that politeness strategies play an important role in requests (Tracy, Craig, Smith, & Spisak, 1984). Requests, to a larger or smaller extent, impose on the hearer (H). If requests are not made appropriately, the desired goal may not be reached, H may be embarrassed, or the relationship may be damaged. Requests in a foreign language, therefore, require skill in judging and using politeness.

In this paper, I will discuss requests, politeness, and politeness strategies in general, politeness in Japanese, and some differences of politeness between Americans and Japanese. I will suggest some questions for future research.

Requests

A request is a speech act in which the speaker (S) asks H to do something. S is imposing on H. H has to pay the cost to carry out the request, and usually S profits from it. The larger the request, the greater the imposition on H. If S asks to borrow $100 from H, the imposition is greater than if S asked H for $20. The imposition determined by the size of a request is called absolute imposition. The absolute imposition involved in requesting a loan of $100 is five times larger than in requesting a loan of $20. If the size of the imposition is too large, H may reject the request, and S will not achieve the goal and may be embarrassed. S wants to maintain a good relationship with H if they are part of a continuing relationship or at least to make a good impression if H is a stranger.

However, in actual situations, H perceives the size of the request in terms of relative imposition, which is affected by various factors, rather than in terms of absolute imposition. Two variables that affect relative imposition are the relation to S's social distance (familiarity) and social status (power) (Scollon & Scollon, 1983). If familiarity between S and H is high (close social distance), the relative imposition is smaller than if familiarity is low. If S asks for a loan of $100 from a parent and $20 from a teacher, the teacher might feel more imposed on than the father, even though the absolute size of the request is smaller. If S is more powerful than H, the relative size of requests becomes smaller. If a boss and a subordinate ask H to do the same thing, H feels more imposed on by the subordinate than the boss, because the subordinate has less power than H, while the boss has more power than H.

In summary, H does not feel an absolute imposition (size of request) directly. H rather feels relative imposition, which is affected by the relational distance, that is, the combination of familiarity and power in the relationship with S.

Brown and Levinson (1978) argued that cultural variables also affect imposition on H, but they did not discuss specific variables in any depth. There are several situational variables, three important ones being the necessity of the request, the ease of carrying out the request, and cultural differences.

The necessity of the request refers to how badly S needs to impose on H with the request. If S and H are at the cashier in a cafeteria, and S finds that he/she does not have money, H will probably understand that S has little choice but to make a request to borrow money. If, in contrast, S asks for $20 to pay a bill that is not due for a week, and if S can as easily borrow the money from a closer friend, the necessity is lower and H will be less understanding and feel more relative imposition. High necessity makes relative imposition smaller.

The ease of carrying out the request refers to the degree of difficulty involved. If H is very rich, $100 is not much money, but if H is poor, even $20 is a lot of money. Thus, whenever S asks for $20, the absolute imposition is the same, but the relative imposition is much smaller for a rich person than for a poor person.

Cultural differences cannot be adequately discussed in a paragraph or two. However, the amount of relative imposition for the same request in the same situation may vary from one culture to another. I will discuss differences between American and Japanese cultures later in this paper.

Therefore, the size of request (absolute imposition) is mitigated by the relational distance between S and H (familiarity and power) and the situational variables (necessity, ease of carrying out the request, and cultural variables) and becomes the relative imposition which H experiences.

Politeness

Politeness is a communication strategy which people use to maintain and develop relationships. Politeness is mainly used in only two functions: competitive goals, such as requesting, ordering, demanding, and begging; and convivial goals, such as offering, inviting, greeting, thanking, and congratulating. Competitive goals are essentially discourteous, and convivial goals, courteous (Leech, 1983). Since requests are discourteous by nature, politeness is an important issue.

Politeness in requests is a communication strategy which S uses to achieve S's goals and, if S and H are in a continuing relationship, to help preserve the relationship. S chooses the level of politeness based on S's perception of what H will consider the size of the relative imposition. S will try to use the right level of politeness. If S is not sufficiently polite, H may still feel imposed on and be embarrassed. If S is too polite, the utterance may sound sarcastic to H.

Brown and Levinson (1978) define politeness as maintaining H's face, that is, letting H feel unimposed on and approved of in certain respects. Face refers to wants, and Brown and Levinson (1978) argued that we have two types of wants: ego-preserving wants and public-self preserving wants, which refer to the desire to be considered a contributing member of society. The former (ego-preserving wants) generates negative face, and the latter (public-self preserving wants), positive face.

Politeness not only decreases relative imposition on H but also increases approval from H for achieving the goal. Giving H options or making the request indirectly makes the request more polite by giving H more freedom as to whether H carries out the request. Making the request more polite decreases imposition and helps keep a good relationship. However, that increases the chance of rejection, of S not achieving the goal. Thus, it is important to increase H's approval of S.

Brown and Levinson (1978) distinguish two types of politeness, positive and negative politeness. Positive politeness is used to satisfy S's needs for approval and belonging (maximizing positive face). Positive politeness expresses solidarity. Negative politeness functions to minimize the imposition (negative face). (See the strategies listed under "Strategies of Politeness" below.) Both types of politeness are increased when the size of the request is larger. Negative politeness is increased when H is more powerful and when familiarity between S and H is lower.

Politeness is shown through linguistic forms, nonverbal cues, and communicative functions. It attempts to take into account the complexity of motivations and goals that are realized in discourse, and the possible conflicts among them that must be resolved. According to Fraser (1978), politeness is a function which is based on H's perception of an utterance. H perceives imposition based on relative imposition mitigated by politeness. If relative imposition is larger, greater politeness is necessary.

Strategies of Politeness

Positive and negative politeness strategies are used both to increase solidarity and to decrease imposition. They interact in complicated ways according to the nature of the act and the status of S and H. They include the following:

positive politeness strategies

1. noticing, attending to H's interests, wants, etc.
2. using in-group markers
3. being optimistic
4. seeking agreement
5. indicating common ground
6. offering, promising

negative politeness strategies

1. being conventionally indirect
2. questioning, hedging
3. being pessimistic
4. minimizing the imposition
5. giving deference
6. apologizing

Brown and Levinson (1978) present five superstrategies of politeness which show different levels of politeness.

1. A speaker may perform the request "baldly," making no attempt to acknowledge the hearer's face wants.
2. A speaker may perform the request while attending to the hearer's positive face wants, using what Brown and Levinson (1978) label a positive politeness strategy.
3. A speaker might perform the request with negative politeness, acknowledging the hearer's negative face wants, the desire to be unimpeded and not imposed on.
4. A speaker may "go off-record" in performing the request. Here a speaker performs the act but in a vague manner (e.g., hinting) that could be interpreted by the hearer as some other act.
5. Performing no request and gaining no goal.

The first strategy is not polite at all, and the last one is very polite but does not gain anything. Thus there are four different levels of polite strategies that have the potential to gain the goal.

Brown and Levinson hold that speakers contemplating the performance of a request will generally choose higher-numbered (more polite) strategies in proportion to the seriousness of the request. However, because of costs (effort, lack of clarity, other threats to face) associated with the use of higher numbered strategies, speakers will not generally select strategies that are more polite than necessary (Brown and Levinson, 1978).

Leech (1983) proposes the politeness principle (PP) from the viewpoint of pragmatics. The PP can be formulated in its negative form as, "Minimize, all else being equal, the expression of impolite beliefs," and in its positive form as, "Maximize, all else being equal, the expression of polite beliefs." Leech argues that people use the PP in real communication. The application of the PP, of course, varies across cultures.

Leech also proposes six maxims in pairs that express how the PP is carried out:

1. Tact Maxim (in impositives and commissives)
   A. Minimize cost to other.
   B. Maximize benefit to other.
2. Generosity Maxim (in impositives and commissives)
   A. Minimize benefit to self.
   B. Maximize cost to self.
3. Approbation Maxim (in expressives and assertives)
   A. Minimize dispraise of other.
   B. Maximize praise of other.
4. Modesty Maxim (in expressives and assertives)
   A. Minimize praise of self.
   B. Maximize dispraise of self.
5. Agreement Maxim (in assertives)
   A. Minimize disagreement between self and other.
   B. Maximize agreement between self and other.
6. Sympathy Maxim (in assertives)
   A. Minimize antipathy between self and other.
   B. Maximize sympathy between self and other.

All maxims are maximizing approval and minimizing imposition in order not to threaten face. The first pair are similar to imposition, the second pair, to power, and the third pair, to familiarity.

Politeness in Japanese

Absolute social status and power relationships among people are clearer in Japan than in the United States. The Japanese language supports this social system, and special polite language, called *keigo*, is used.

Using *keigo*, S can show respect to superiors or people outside his/her group, the humility of S or of people in his/her group, and formality to the third person or thing (*teineigo*) (Horikawa & Hayashi, 1969). Japanese people consider power differences and solidarity very important and acknowledge them through *keigo*.

The basic structure of the use of *keigo* is the same as polite language in English. The differences lie in degrees and complexity of the relationship and in differences in interpreting those relationships. For example, S needs to keep people in his/her group lower than H or people in H's group.

Differences of Politeness in English and Japanese

As mentioned above, the basic theory of politeness is similar in English and Japanese, with degrees of familiarity, power, and the size of the request influencing the degree of politeness. Differences lie in the fact that power is more important and clearer in Japanese, and familiarity has a somewhat different application. If H is superior to S, Japanese tend to acknowledge that superiority more and use more negative politeness than Americans. In English, including other people in one's own group by use of informal language is polite, but keeping other persons outside the group is polite in Japan. Therefore, Americans tend to use more positive politeness than Japanese do, and Japanese usually use negative politeness to people outside of their groups.

There are numerous examples of uses of negative and positive politeness in Japan. A Japanese often apologizes to keep good relationships, even when he/she is not wrong (negative politeness). If a Japanese feels the need to disagree or criticize, he/she does so very indirectly (negative politeness). If an issue is minor, Japanese people usually agree even if they want to disagree (positive politeness) (Naotsuka et al., 1981).

While the principles of politeness are similar in Japanese and English, there are differences in the ways that they are applied. Degrees of politeness and interpretation of politeness in different situations differ. Minami (1987) points out that fixed relationships between S and H contribute most in the use of politeness strategies in Japanese, but politeness strategies tend to vary according to the content of the request or situation in the United States. He further argues that requests in English have more variety of expression and Japanese has more conventionalized expressions for requests. These differences contribute to relative imposition as cultural variables.

Previous Studies of Politeness

Several studies have been conducted to determine the level of politeness of different types of requests in English and to determine non-native perceptions of politeness.

Fraser (1978) asked college students to rank eight sentences in order of descending deference. Each sentence had either the modal *can* or *could*, was positive or negative, and was either in the interrogative or imperative-plus-tag form. Nearly all subjects ordered the sentence in the order shown below.

1. Could you do that
2. Can you do that
3. Do that, could you
4. Do that, can you
5. Couldn't you do that
6. Can't you do that
7. Do that, couldn't you
8. Do that, can't you

In Fraser's (1978) second study, a different group of 40 college students were given pairs of sentences and asked to rank them according to their relative deference. Ten sentences were used and the results, listed in order of decreasing deference, were as follows:

1. Would you do that
2. I would like you to do that
3. You might do that
4. I must ask you to do that
5. Can you do that
6. Will you do that
7. Why not do that
8. Do you have to do that
9. I request that you do that
10. Do that

Fraser concluded that native speakers have a sense of which of any pair of requests shows the most deference. In the first study, the results indicate that sentences with a modal (can or could) are more polite than sentences without one. Positive sentences are more polite than negative sentences. Interrogatives are more polite than imperative-plus-tag forms. Also past tense is more polite than present tense. In the second study, the results indicate that sentences with the modals "would," "might," "must" or "can" are more polite than sentences without one. Second person form is more polite than first person form (though this issue is confused somewhat by the fact that examples of negative politeness use first person). Past tense is more polite than present tense. Interrogatives are more polite than declaratives and imperatives. It also appears that uncommonly used requests may be perceived as having different politeness levels.

Carrell and Konneker (1981) investigated and compared politeness judgments of native speakers of American English and non-native ESL learners on a set of request strategies in English which varied systematically in their syntactic/semantic properties, that is, formal syntactic and semantic aspects of negative "face" and conventionalized politeness. They surveyed native and non-native speakers of English on their perceptions of degrees of politeness using different moods (interrogative, declarative, and imperative), tenses (past and present), and modals (present or absent).

They used the following forms:

1. interrogative—past tense modal	Could you give me a pack of Marlboros?
2. interrogative—present tense modal	Can you give me a pack of Marlboros?
3. interrogative—no modal	Do you have a pack of Marlboros?
4. declarative—past tense modal	I'd like a pack of Marlboros.
5. declarative—present tense modal	I'll have a pack of Marlboros.
6. declarative—no modal	I want a pack of Marlboros.
7. imperative	Give me a pack of Marlboros.
8. imperative—elliptical	A pack of Marlboros.

As the researchers expected, this was the order in which the participants ranked the utterances.

Results indicated that mood contributes most to the politeness hierarchy, in this order, with interrogative being the most polite and imperative the least polite. The presence of modals contributes the next most to politeness; modals don't add much to the politeness of the already-very-polite interrogative, but they do contribute more to the politeness of the not-as-polite declarative. If the modal is past tense, this adds a small additional degree of politeness.

A high correlation was found between the native and non-native judgments of politeness on the eight request strategies. The non-native speakers identified the same order of relative politeness that the native speakers did. There were few differences across nationalities or levels of English. One major difference is that the ESL learners tended to perceive more politeness distinctions than did native English speakers.

Interestingly, native speakers did not distinguish "Can you...," "I'd like..." and "Do you have..." much but non-native speakers did. This is probably because they are so different in syntax but not in semantics that non-native speakers did not understand such semantic differences. The same is true for "I'll have..." and "I want..." The order is different this time. These types of differences are difficult even for non-native speakers with high English proficiency. However, it is not clear from this study whether the non-native speakers would be able to use politeness strategies appropriately in actual use.

It is interesting that non-native speakers are more sensitive to politeness. This sensitivity to grammar and other aspects of language may hinder non-native speakers' mastery of English.

Tanaka and Kawabe (1982) conducted a study with ten Americans and ten Japanese with advanced ESL proficiency. They asked subjects to place the following twelve requests in their order of politeness. The results are as follows.

Requests	Rank Orders	
	Americans	Japanese
1. I'd appreciate...	$\underline{1}$	$\underline{1}$
2. Could you...?	2	2
3. Would you...?	$\underline{3}$	2
4. Can you...?	4	5
5. I'd like you to...	5	6
6. Will you...?	6	$\underline{4}$
7. Turn down X, won't you?	7	$\underline{8}$
8. Why don't you...?	$\underline{8}$	9
9. Turn down X, will you?	$\underline{9}$	10
10. I want you to...	10	$\underline{7}$
11. Turn down X.	$\underline{11}$	$\underline{11}$
12. X (The Radio)?	12	12

(Underlining indicates significant differences between adjacent pairs of requests [p < .01].)

High correlations in perception of politeness were found among subjects in each group and the researchers concluded that both native speakers of English and advanced ESL learners are aware of the varying degrees of politeness. There is a high correlation between Americans and Japanese in their perception of politeness in requests. However, Japanese tend to be oversensitive to politeness distinctions. Advanced ESL learners have acquired not only linguistic competence but also a pragmatic knowledge of English. Tanaka and Kawabe also argue that politeness in English increases as a function of the increasing freedom of H to refuse the request and the increasing politeness decreases the imposition.

Tanaka and Kawabe (1982) also conducted a study on the use of politeness strategies for requests at ten different psychological and social distances. They used six requests:

1. I would appreciate it if you could lend me X.
2. Would you lend me X?
3. Can you lend me X?
4. Lend me X, will you?
5. I want you to lend me X.
6. Lend me X.

Tanaka and Kawabe concluded that native speakers of English use polite strategies in distant relations and less polite strategies in close relations. Advanced learners of ESL use similar politeness strategies, but they tend to use less polite strategies. Tanaka and Kawabe also explained that "would you..." is most usable in any situation. They did not find any differences between American females and males in their use of politeness strategies. Americans used "would you..." more than Japanese, and Japanese used the elliptical imperative (6) more than Americans.

Tanaka (1988), using role play, found that, compared to Australians, Japanese learners of English tended to overuse negative politeness and underuse positive politeness. However, in some cases, the Japanese subjects did not use negative politeness in situations where native speakers did, that is, the Japanese subjects were sometimes more direct that the native speakers. She also found that Japanese subjects did not vary the level of politeness of their expressions in different situations as much as native speakers did. Tanaka attributed this to two sources: native language interference and the stereotype that English speakers are always direct. She suggested that Japanese students should be made more aware of the cultural patterns of the target language, should be taught a sufficient range of expressions, and should be given opportunities to practice necessary communication patterns.

Tanaka's study only included eight subjects, and she does not indicate their level of proficiency in English (though they were regular university students), so the results must be interpreted cautiously. However, the results of her study indicate that, even though Japanese learners of English may be able to recognize different levels of politeness, they do not necessarily use them appropriately in production.

Future Research

The issues and studies discussed in this paper raise questions that deserve further research. Some questions are related to theories of politeness. Others are related to the acquisition of knowledge about levels of politeness by second language speakers.

As mentioned above, underlying politeness principles seem to be the same in English and Japanese, but there are differences in their applications. What exactly are these differences? What are the various cultural variables that contribute to relative imposition, and how do they affect it? How are negative and positive politeness used differently in Japanese and American cultures?

In addition, there are questions related to second language teaching. Only one study of politeness and English as a second language speakers dealt with production. Though the perceptions that these second language speakers have of levels of politeness seemed to be similar to those of native speakers, they may not be able to produce appropriate levels of politeness in real communicative situations. If non-native speakers do have difficulties using appropriate levels of politeness in communicative situations, how can these skills best be developed? Further study is necessary on the problems that Japanese speakers of English at different levels of proficiency have in real communicative situations and on how these problems can most effectively be overcome.

Attempting to answer these questions can give us a deeper understanding of forms of politeness in English, and particularly differences in the ways Japanese and Americans deal with politeness in English. This in turn can help improve the education that Japanese students of English receive in a vital area of communicative competence, that of judging and using politeness.

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DIFFERENCES IN COLOR ASSOCIATIONS OF AMERICANS AND JAPANESE

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Abstract

In communicating with someone of a different culture, linguistic competence in the target language is not enough. It is also necessary to understand the associations that speakers of the target language share. Associations help form a bridge between language and meaning. If communicators have different associations, they may interpret the same sentence differently. For communicating in a foreign language, the most important type of association is indicative association, which is related to the literature, customs, history, etc., of a people. When Japanese people communicate with Americans in English, this is the type of association that often causes them problems, since they do not know much about the indicative associations of Americans. Associations and conventions related to color are one area of indicative association that may cause problems for Japanese people communicating in English. In this paper, we discuss the associations that Japanese and Americans have for common colors and some of the differences between these associations.

Introduction

Japanese people often have difficulty communicating with Americans in English. Sometimes these problems are related to linguistic problems, but communication barriers are also often related to inadequate knowledge of the thought patterns of Americans and the associations that

Americans share (Kitao, 1979).

Languages can be compared on different levels. A linguistic comparison, while it is useful for some purposes, will not reveal all the significant differences, because language is also strongly related to the speakers' cultural background (Finocchiaro, 1974). A Japanese trying to communicate with Americans must know something of the associations that Americans share. Therefore, communicating with Americans requires more than just learning the language itself; it also involves understanding its speakers and their associations.

Associations

People use language to communicate their thoughts. A speaker converts a concept into verbal and non-verbal signs. The hearer converts the signs into a concept. If the concept of the hearer and the speaker are the same or similar, the communication has been successful. If they are different, the communication has not been successful (Kitao, 1979).

The speaker does not necessarily use all the signs that are required to communicate the concept. Associations may be used to form a bridge between the signs and the concept. In this way, associations are important in converting concepts into signs and signs into concepts. In areas where the speaker's and hearer's associations differ, misunderstandings will result if they are not aware of these differences (Kitao, 1979).

One type of association is indicative association, which is strongly related to history, literature, legend, custom, etc. (Kunihiro, 1979). It is this type of association that causes Japanese people particular difficulties in communicating with Americans in English, since they are often not familiar with these aspects of American culture. For example, a Japanese who heard an American speaker say, "I feel blue," would not understand the utterance unless he/she realized that Americans associate the color blue with depression and so the sentence means, "I feel depressed."

Thus, it is significant to study areas that affect association. This paper explores one aspect of association—that of color-related associations. In this paper, we will discuss the objects and associations that Japanese and Americans relate to various common colors.

Awareness of Color

Colors are in a continuous belt between purple and red. That belt is cut arbitrarily into many colors. Approximately 7000 colors have been distinguished (Gleason, 1961). Some cultures recognize more colors than others. For example, not all cultures recognize seven colors in the rainbow. Therefore, it is interesting to know which colors a particular group of people are most aware of. Berlin and Kay (1969), in a study of the Hurray Islands, list the following terms out of a larger list of more than thirty elicited test materials: white, black (and blue), red, orange, yellow, green, blue, and gray. Lenneberg and Roberts (1956) selected eleven colors in the study of Zuni: white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange, and gray.

Compared to Japanese, English has more color terms. English also has more words for shades of colors. In Japanese, expressions like "the color of water" (light blue) or the "color of a mouse" (gray) are used as color terms. These differences indicate that Americans seem to have more awareness of color than Japanese people do.

Objects Associated with Colors

In preparation for a paper in an ethnolinguistics class, Japanese and American students at a large Midwestern university were surveyed about objects associated with nine common colors: blue, red, yellow, green, orange, white, black, purple, and brown. Respondents were asked to list up to two objects associated with each color. The survey showed differences and similarities between the objects that Americans and Japanese people associate with objects and some of the cultural conventions related to colors.

Blue has strong associations with the sky and the ocean for both

Americans and Japanese. Some Americans listed jeans, and this shows the popularity of jeans among American students and demonstrates strong association of colors with things used in daily life.

Red is associated with sunsets and blood by both Americans and Japanese. It is associated with the communist flag and lips for Americans and with fire for Japanese. (Americans think of fire as being orange or yellow, but it is definitely red for Japanese.)

Yellow has an association with eggs for both Americans and Japanese. It is linked with the sun for Americans but not for Japanese, who associate red with the sun. In American culture, yellow has a wider range of object associations. Some Americans paired yellow with road signs and school buses. Such associations are alien to the Japanese experience.

Green is associated with grass, trees, and leaves for both Americans and Japanese. However, Americans also link it with both eyes and money. Since almost all Japanese people have black or brown eyes, Japanese people do not think of green in association with eyes, and since Japanese money is not green, Japanese people do not associate money with the color green at all. Japanese listed mountains as green but Americans did not. Many of the American respondents were from midwestern states, where there are no mountains. In addition, many of the mountains in the western part of United States are above the tree line and therefore are not green. St. Patrick's Day also has an association with green for Americans. Japanese who are unfamiliar with this occasion do not associate it with green.

The color orange has its strongest association with oranges for Americans and Japanese. Americans have some association of orange with pumpkins. The distinction between yellow and orange is not clear for either Americans or Japanese. Caution lights can be described as orange or yellow. School buses can be orange or yellow for Americans. Since orange is between yellow and red on the color scale, fire and the sun are sometimes described as orange, as well as red or yellow by Americans and Japanese.

White has a strong association with snow for both groups. Americans sometimes associate it with linens. The moon is white for Americans but yellow for Japanese. Many Americans wrote "paper." Some Americans associate the color with white people and thus listed "man" and "skin."

Black has a strong association with night for both Americans and Japanese. Americans have a strong association of black with black people and so they wrote "Negro," "man" and "skin."

Purple has a strong association with royalty for the American respondents, and they also imagine cloth, velvet, robes, etc. However, this was not a strongly associated color for the Japanese respondents, and they did not list any characteristic associations for purple.

Brown has an association with earth and trees for both Americans and Japanese. Brown shoes seem popular in the United States and Japan, because many people mentioned them.

The Americans and Japanese showed much similarity in recognizing colors. Usually, they agreed on the colors of objects. Associations between colors and objects are based on culture and experience. For example, distinctions among races is very important, particularly between white and black, in the United States. Americans have a very strong association of color with races and they are also more sensitive than the Japanese to the colors of hair, eyes, and skin, since these have more variety in the United States than in Japan.

Color and Language

Usage of color terminology is not necessarily based on observation. Use of color is often dependent on cultural convention, custom, or convenience. For example, all chalkboards were originally black and therefore were called blackboards. Even though many chalkboards are now green, they are still called blackboards. Also, Japanese people often use blue and green interchangeably. A green traffic light is described as being not green but blue. In Japanese, the term for *aosogen* [blue field] is used to describe a green field. Black tea is not black and green tea is not necessarily green. Orientals are traditionally described as being yellow, American Indians as red, Negroes as black, and Caucasians as white, but in actuality, this is not necessarily so. Most skin colors are shades of brown. Colors are used according to the conventions of the culture.

Colors are sometimes used to describe contrasts, but these are also based on convention rather than observation. Typical contrasts are white and red and white and black. White wine is distinguished from red wine, but it is not white but clear. Red rice is pink rather than red. White pepper and black pepper are only white or black compared to one another. White metal is not white but only a contrast to iron (black). Human skin is not actually black or white but rather varying shades of brown.

Certain events are associated with colors. St. Patrick's Day is associated with green, Christmas with red and green, Easter with purple and yellow, the Fourth of July with red, white and blue, and Halloween with black and orange. The colors red and white are used at a Japanese celebration and yellow and white at Japanese funerals.

Color Connotations

The following are some common colors and their connotations in English, with examples of related expressions, a comparison to their connotations in Japanese and different colors related to the same connotations for Japanese people. The examples come from American informants, dictionaries, and a book on comparative culture (Hasegawa, 1974).

Americans use the following colors to describe races of people: Negroes are black; Caucasians are white; Orientals are yellow; American Indians are red; and people from Latin America and their descendants are brown. In Japanese, the same colors are used in association with the first two races. However, American Indians are described as being *dōshoku* [the color of copper]. (It should be noted that, while the terms "black" and "white" are still used to denote races in English, "red," "yellow," and "brown" have come to be considered derogatory and are not often used any more.)

Usually, Americans are more specific with colors and use more color terms than Japanese. For example, *kuro* [black] is used for black, brown or dark. Therefore, *kuroikao* [black face] can be used to describe a very dirty face, the face of a black person, or a suntanned face. In English, a suntanned face is described as brown, never black.

Blue

Blue in English has connotations of depression, obscenity, the best, nobility, loyalty, strictness, nothingness, and lack of oxygen.

Depression.

blue Monday
blue devils (a depressed feeling)
I feel blue.
Today is just a blue day.
I have the blues.
I am blue.
He is in a blue mood today.
He always sings the blues. (talks pessimistically)

The blues, a type of jazz music, is also related to this association of blue. This type of music is characterized by its melancholy sound, caused by playing certain notes, called blue notes, slightly flat.

In Japanese, no particular color is associated with depression.

Obscenity.

a blue movie
blue stories

In Japanese, pink is the color that has the connotation of obscenity.

a pink film
a pink mood

The best. In the United States, blue, red and white indicate first, second, and third prizes respectively.

He got a blue ribbon.

blue chips (poker chips of high value)

They are blue chip stocks. (expensive, desirable stocks)

The governor appointed a blue ribbon panel. (a special panel of experts)

No particular colors are associated with prizes in Japan.

Nobility.

She has blue blood in her veins.

She is a blue blood/blue-blooded.

Loyalty.

She is true blue.

Nothingness.

The message came from out of the blue. (as from nowhere)

Blue can also be used in Japanese to indicate nothingness.

seiten no hekireki [thunder from a blue sky (a surprise out of nowhere)]

Lack of oxygen.

She held her breath till she turned blue.

A blue baby was born.

I screamed until I was blue in the face.

In Japanese, blue is used to indicate pallidness, due either to illness or to shock, fear, etc.

Kare wa aoku natta. [He became blue (He became ill or blanched from shock).]

aojiroi [pale (due to ill health)]

aozameru [turn pale (due to either ill health or shock, fear, etc.)]

Other expressions.

blue-collar workers (industrial workers)

blue jacket (American soldier in the Revolutionary War)

blue stocking (a learned, bookish or pedantic woman; from the unconventional blue worsted stockings worn by the leading figure at literary meetings in 18th century London)

blue plate special (an inexpensive restaurant meal served at a fixed price on a large plate, originally blue)

She talked a blue streak. (She talked fast, without pauses.)

Red

The connotations of red in English are communism, passion, anger, and shame or embarrassment.

Communism.

These people are Reds. (These people are communists.)

Passion.

She is red hot. (She is excited.)

Anger.

He burned red.

She went red with anger.

He saw red.

Shame or embarrassment.

She had a red face.

There are going to be a lot of red faces around here when the news of that big mistake gets out.

He was red as a beet.

Other expressions.

red-light district (area of prostitution)

redneck (a poor white in the South or a very conservative person)

red letter day (a special day)

red meat (meat that is red before cooking; beef or mutton)

I am in the red. (I am in debt.)

The project went into the red/into red ink.

They'll roll out the red carpet to welcome the prince. (give someone a good reception)

I cannot go there, because my father gave me the red light. (forbade me to go)

I had to wait for two hours because of all the red tape. (bureaucracy)

The connotations of red in Japanese are shame, anger, or embarrassment, clear or complete, communism, and celebration.

Shame, anger, or embarrassment.

akai kao [red face (anger, shame, embarrassment)]

Kare wa akaku natta. [He turned red (with anger, shame, or embarrassment).]

Kare wa makkani natte okotta. [He turned red with anger.]

Communism.

Kare wa aka da. [He is a Red (a communist).]

Clear or complete.

akauso [red (bare-faced) lie]

akanotanin [red (complete) stranger]

akahadaka [completely nude]

sekihin [very poor]

In English, it is black that has the connotation of completeness.

a black villain.

a black lie

Celebration.

seki han [red rice, which Japanese people eat to celebrate certain things.]

Yellow

The connotation of yellow in English is cowardice.

Cowardice.

You are yellow.

You are yellow-bellied.

You have a yellow streak down your back.

Other expressions.

yellow pages (part of a telephone book)

yellow metal (gold)

Yellow does not have any particular connotations in Japanese.

Green

The connotations of green in English are envy; inexperience; growth; sickness, especially seasickness; and money.

Envy.

He turned green with envy when he saw Tom's new car.

He is green.

the green-eyed monster (jealousy)

Inexperience or youthfulness.

He is as green as grass.

He is a greenhorn at photography.

green recruits

Growth.

The Middle East is undergoing a green revolution.

He has a green thumb when it comes to roses. (He is good at growing roses.)

Sickness.

She turned green when the boat started rocking.

He turned green when he saw the terrible sight.

Money.

Give me some green. (Give me some money.)

Give me some greenbacks. (dollars)

She has a lot of green stuff.

Other expressions.

You've got a green light. (You have the go-ahead.)

greenhouse

In Japanese, green is associated with plants.

ryokka [tree planting]

ryokuchi [green tract of land]

ryokuin [the shade of trees]

ryokuju [green-leaved trees]

ryokuso [green grass]

In Japanese, blue (*ao*) and green are often used interchangeably, so *ao* is used for green to mean plants.

aoba [green leaves]
aona [greens]
aoendo [green peas]
aokusa [green grass]
aomame [green beans]
aomono [green things (vegetables)]
aotagai [unripened fruit]

Ao also has the connotation of inexperience and youth.

aonisai [green youth; greenhorn]
aozamurai [young soldiers; inexperienced soldiers]

White

The connotations of white are fear. innocence, virtue, anger, and virginity.

Fear.

She turned white as a ghost when she saw her brother, who she had thought was dead.
He went white as a sheet when he read the telegram.
He was white with terror.
Her lips were white with fear.

Innocence or goodness.

white magic
white lie

Virtue.

The hero rode on a white horse.
the good guys in the white hats

Anger.

He turned white with anger when he saw his girlfriend with a handsome guy.
He is white hot.

Virginity.

She did not wear a white wedding dress, because it was her second marriage.

Other expressions.

white trash (poor white people in the South)

white supremacy (the belief that white people are superior and that they are intended to govern non-white people)

white metal (any of various light-colored alloys)

white plague (tuberculosis)

white hot steel (steel that is so hot [beyond red hot] that it glows white)

A soldier saw an angel in white (nurse) coming to his rescue.

He whitewashed his girlfriend. (minimized her faults)

There are whitecaps on the sea today. (waves with foam on top)

His great bargain turned out to be a white elephant. (something from which little profit or use is derived)

He showed the white tail when danger came. (behaved in a cowardly way)

white collar workers (office workers)

white goods (linens)

white sale (sale of white goods)

white lightning (homemade whiskey)

white potato

The connotations of white in Japanese is innocence, cleanliness, and coldness.

Innocence.

Kare wa shiro da. [He is innocent.]

Cleanliness.

masshirona tablecloth [pure white tablecloth—implies that the whole room is clean]

Coldness.

Shiroi me de miru [look coldly on (something)]

Shirakeru [become chilled; become less cheerful]

Black

The connotations of black are evil, anger, and mourning, confirmed or absolute, depressing or gloomy, and negative.

Evil.

They perform black magic. (magic with an evil purpose)

He is using black magic on me.

Pirates are black-hearted. (wicked)

She saw the betrayal as a black deed.

He is the black sheep of our family. (a person regarded as not so respectable or successful as the rest of his family or group)

Anger.

He gave me a black look.

His face was as black as thunder.

Mourning.

The mourners were dressed in black.

Confirmed or absolute.

He told a black lie.

a black villain

Depressing or gloomy.

Things look black.

black humor

Negative.

He is on the blacklist. (a list [literal or figurative] of persons who have been censured)

Because he cheated on the test, he got a black mark. (a mark indicating something unfavorable on one's record)

He was blackballed from joining a fraternity. (a negative vote)

Other expressions.

I saw a black cat this morning. (a symbol of coming bad luck)

I got into the black. (out of debt)

black metal (iron)

He bought that watch on the black market. (a place or system for buying goods in violation of price controls or other restrictions)

blacksmith

little black book (address book that a man has with women's [i.e., girlfriends'] names)

black plague (bubonic plague)

The connotations of black (*kuro*) in Japanese are evil and formality.

Evil.

Kare wa kuro da. [He is guilty.]

Kare wa haraguroi. [He is black-hearted.]

Kare wa kuromaku datta. [He was the head of a criminal organization.]

kuroikiri [black fog (corrupt atmosphere)]

Formality.

Kare wa kuroi sūtsu o kite itta. [He went wearing a black suit. (This indicates formality.)]

Japanese people wear black on formal occasions, including both funerals and weddings.

Purple

The connotations of purple are royalty, anger, passion, and elaborateness.

Anger.

He is purple with rage.

She is in a purple rage over the argument.

Royalty.

He was born to the purple.

He was cradled in the purple.

Passion.

She is in a purple passion. (very excited)

Elaborateness.

purple prose

His writing is purple.

The only connotation of purple (*murasaki*) in Japanese is nobility.
murasaki no kumo [imperial palace]
murasaki no miya [imperial palace]

Conclusion

In communicating with someone of a different culture, linguistic competence in the target language is not enough. It is also necessary to understand the associations that speakers of the target language share. Associations help form a bridge between language and meaning. If people have different associations, they may interpret the same sentence differently. For communicating in a foreign language, the most important type of association is indicative association, which is related to the literature, customs, history, and so on, of a people. When Japanese people communicate with Americans in English, this is the type of association that often causes them problems, since they do not know much about the indicative associations of Americans. Associations related to color are one large, important area of associations that Japanese people must have an understanding of in order to communicate successfully with Americans.

Americans seem to have a greater awareness of color than Japanese people do. Americans have more terms for color, more words for different shades, and so on. Japanese people may need to learn to distinguish between two colors in English that have the same name in Japanese. Americans also seem to have more associations related to colors than Japanese do.

Americans and Japanese do not necessarily use the same colors for the same objects. For example, Americans have a wider range of yellow and Japanese have a wider range of red, so the sun and fire are red in Japanese and yellow in English.

Americans and Japanese share some of the same color associations, but there are many differences. Japanese people are often not familiar with color associations based on American culture and daily life. Since the use of color terminology is often based on cultural convention rather than descriptions of reality, Japanese people who communicate with Americans in English have to learn the American way to use colors.

Some American events and holidays are associated with colors. These are often unfamiliar to Japanese people.

The following are the connotations of colors discussed in this paper.

blue: depression, obscenity, the best, nobility, loyalty, strictness, and lack of oxygen
red: passion
yellow: cowardice
green: envy, inexperience, newness, growth, sickness, and money
white: fear, anger, virtue, and virginity
black: anger, mourning, confirmed or absolute, depressing or gloomy, and negative
purple: anger, passion, and elaborateness

It is helpful for Japanese people who communicate with Americans to know the connotations of colors. As for the expressions using colors in the previous section, they are culturally oriented, so they have to be learned item by item.

Color associations have much significance in American culture, and different patterns of color associations and expressions can be found between Americans and Japanese. It is a great help to Japanese who have contact with Americans if those differences of patterns of cultures are clarified.

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DIFFICULTIES JAPANESE HAVE IN READING ENGLISH

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Abstract

In this paper, the problems encountered by native Japanese-speakers in reading English as a second language are examined, based on literature on the subject as well as firsthand experiences in teaching English, developing reading materials, and conducting research projects. The discussion focuses on five major areas: the reading process, the fact that reading passages in English textbooks are usually not written for Japanese students and the effect this has on their reading, why written texts are more difficult than spoken texts, major problems encountered by the Japanese in reading English texts, and some cultural and social barriers to reading English. Ten suggestions are made for improving Japanese college-level English reading instruction: choosing appropriate texts, avoiding exercises requiring that students replace Japanese words with English, providing background information, encouraging faster reading, giving students a purpose each time they read, teaching about English discourse organization, practicing basic reading skills, using activities based on real experiences, providing opportunities for discussion, and encouraging further cultural or topical study.

Introduction

Many Japanese people who have studied English believe that they can read English well, even though they cannot speak it. Since so many people believe it, it has become an axiom. But is it really true that Japanese can read English well? Matsumura (1984) argues that it is not. He maintains that most Japanese can neither speak nor read English well.

In this paper, we will discuss the process of reading in general and then consider how Japanese students usually read English. We will also discuss the problems that Japanese have in reading and make some recommendations for solving some of these problems in reading classes in Japan.

Reading

Reading has been defined as "the meaningful interpretation of written or printed verbal symbols" (Harris and Sipay, 1975: 5). In other words, reading is decoding written symbols and reconstructing the world the writer had in mind. However, that is difficult to do, and readers always understand both more and less than the writer intended, even in their native language (Ortega y Gasset, 1959).

Goodman (1967) characterized reading as a psycholinguistic guessing game. Meaning does not come from the printed letters alone. It involves an interaction between thought and language. Rather than reading each individual word, readers select the fewest, most productive cues from the printed page that are necessary to produce guesses and confirm them. They make predictions about what will come next, and check these predictions. Smith, Goodman and Meredith (1970) emphasize that reading is an active process rather than a passive, receptive one. Following that, Smith (1973) claimed that reading is not even primarily a visual process. Nonvisual information that comes from the brain is more important in reading than what appears on the printed page. Nonvisual information includes all the things the reader already knows about reading, grammar, syntax, semantics, context, and the world in general. Reading is therefore not the passive reception of meaning from the text. It is an active process, making use of the interaction between the readers' knowledge and the text.

Reading and Schema Theory

The active role that the reader's background information plays in reading comprehension has come to be widely recognized only relatively recently. The traditional view of reading is that meaning resides in the text to be comprehended, not in the reader doing the comprehending. If a reader cannot comprehend a text, it is considered to be because of a deficiency in his/her understanding of the words, grammatical forms, anaphoric cohesive ties, etc., in the text (Carrell, 1984). However, as Goodman (1967) has pointed out in his model, reading is a "psycholinguistic guessing game" in which the reader uses the graphic display encoded by the writer to reconstruct the message. According to Goodman's model, the reader does not need to use all the textual cues. Instead, the reader makes predictions and checks them against the text. The better able the reader is to make correct predictions, the less it is necessary for him/her to check the text. Therefore, background information, which allows the reader to make more correct predictions, is an important factor in reading comprehension.

The role that background information plays in comprehension has been formalized in schema theory. Schemata are previously acquired knowledge structures. They are made up of "slots" or "placeholders" for each component (den Uyl and van Oostendorp, 1980). Schemata include information about constraints on what can fill a particular slot, including default values to be used if the slot is not filled (Anderson, 1978), what the relationships are among the slots (Graesser, Woll, Kowalski, & Smith, 1980), and the network of associations that a concept has (Pearson & Spiro, 1982). Schemata tell us what is essential, expected and possible in a certain situation (van Dijk, 1977). They are arranged hierarchically from the most general to the most specific information.

Eating at a restaurant is a simple example of the use of schemata. For an American, a restaurant schema would include the information that there must be a server; that the server can be male or female; that the server will most likely wear a uniform of some sort; that there must be a menu; that the menu must have a list of the dishes that are available; that the menu will most likely include prices. Not listing prices on the menu is associated with expensive restaurants. Assuming the chef in an expensive restaurant is male would be an example of a default value for the gender of the chef.

Van Dijk (1977) describes two types of processing: top-down processing, in which general predictions made about the situation and checked against incoming data, and bottom-up processing, which takes place when the incoming data is perceived first and used to make inferences about the general situation. Kasper (1984) found that, in their native language, readers or listeners activated schema about the general situation first, checked it against the input (i.e., printed or spoken words) and then revised incorrectly activated schemata or activated more specific schemata based on the input. This might be described as interactive processing, since it makes use of the interaction between higher and lower levels of information. In contrast, non-native speakers tend to use bottom-up processing. They use the words and sentences themselves as the basis for comprehension rather than an understanding of the overall context (Kasper, 1984).

Carrell (1984) listed ways in which a reader could miscomprehend or not comprehend because of ways that schemata interact with the text. She listed 1) no existing schema (the text assumes background knowledge that the reader does not possess), 2) naive schema (insufficiently developed schema), 3) poor text (not enough cues to the appropriate schema), 4) multiple schemata appropriate (more than one interpretation of the text possible and the reader does not know which one to choose), 5) schema intrusion (reader chooses an inappropriate schema).

Associations

As mentioned above, schemata include associations. Associations are used by a writer to encode a concept without having to explain the entire concept explicitly. The reader, if he/she is to decode the concept correctly, must use the same associations to fill in information that the writer did not include explicitly. However, a non-native reader (or even a native reader from a different culture or subculture) might not understand the associations that the writer is depending on and therefore would not fully understand the writer's meaning.

Kunihiro (1973) discussed the structure of associations. He divided association into two main categories: word association, which links stimulus-response words, and cultural association, which links a word with its cultural connotation. Cultural association is most important for reading.

Cultural association is of two types. One is sentence association. Through this, native speakers may be able to guess a writer's age, sex, social class, and occupation from the text. The other is indicative association, which is related to history, literature, legend, custom, etc.

Difficulty of Written Texts

Reading may seem easier than oral communication, because the reader can read the text a number of times, if necessary, and because non-native speakers can translate a written text into their native language, something they don't have an opportunity to do in conversation. However, this in not necessarily true. Reading can be more difficult than listening for both native and non-native speakers. Reading may not provide as much about the situational context as a conversation does. The broader context of a written text may not be as clear to the reader. In addition, speakers use nonlinguistic devices such as stress, intonation, rate of speech, gestures, facial expression, and distance to convey meaning and emotion. Another difficulty for reading is that it is one-way communication. If readers do not understand the text, they cannot ask the writer questions. If the text does not compensate for this loss of information, the writer's intended meaning may not be clear to the readers (Ortega y Gasset, 1959).

Moreover, written texts are denser than spoken language. Writers polish their writing. They omit some redundant and unnecessary information. They use a variety of different words to express the same meaning. Writers generally use more complex sentences than speakers. These factors make written texts generally more difficult than spoken messages (Bowen, Madsen & Hilferty, 1985).

English paragraphs are different from Japanese ones (Toyama, 1977). English paragraphs should have one unifying main idea. They are generally more clearly organized than Japanese paragraphs. Sakuma (1983) reports that American college students could reconstruct paragraphs from an unindented editorial in *The New York Times* much better than Japanese college students could from a Japanese language editorial of *The Asahi*, one of the major national newspapers in Japan.

Good and Poor Readers

A number of studies have been done on the differences between good and poor readers. The results of these studies give insight into what readers need to be able to do.

Good readers reading in their native language always monitor their comprehension while they are reading, using their knowledge, experience, and syntactic and semantic cues. MacKinon and Waller (1981) report that good seventh grade readers of English correct 85% of the grammatical errors they make while they read aloud, while poor readers could correct only 42%. Clay and Imlach (1971) report that only one quarter of poor readers could use cues between clauses and sentences. Isakson and Miller (1976) report that good readers stopped when they found irrelevant verbs in passages but poor readers did not.

Poor readers do not use contexts well in reading. Potter (1982) argues that four factors are important in use of contexts. They are decoding skills and grammatical, semantic, and background knowledge. He also divides contexts into two types: preceding and succeeding contexts. Poor readers do not make use of succeeding context. There are several reports that poor readers understand implicit meanings very poorly

(Ryan, 1981). Oakhill (1984) reports that both good and poor readers are equally good at imagining the meaning of a passage using the words in the text. However, using implied cues, there were significant differences.

Poor readers do not use different strategies when they are reading for different purposes. For them, all reading is the same. Even if the purpose of reading is to find a certain piece of information, they still read the whole passage, trying to understand unimportant parts as well as important information (Eamon, 1978-1979).

How Japanese Students Read English

Most Japanese students use an English-Japanese dictionary when they read English. When they find an unfamiliar word, they look it up and write down the first translation of that word below the English word. They do not consider whether that translation fits the context. They go on reading until they find another unfamiliar word. They "read" by replacing all English words with Japanese words one by one. In our experience, even when doing this, not many of them pay attention to the meaning. Even if the meanings of Japanese sentences they make do not make sense, the students may not think anything is wrong. They put the same amount of importance on each word and try to understand a sentence using their knowledge of grammar. When asked to explain the main idea of a passage, some students have answered that they could not explain it but they could translate it. For many Japanese students, reading English is not necessarily related to comprehension.

It is our experience that students do not usually pay attention to how the sentences in a passage are related, how ideas are organized, what the overall idea of the passage is, etc. The maximum unit they attend to is a sentence. Most of them do not understand the concept of the English paragraph or how English paragraphs are organized. They do not pay attention to paragraphs while reading.

Japanese Students' Problems in Reading English

General Findings

From a number of studies (Kitao & Miyamoto, 1982; Kitao & Miyamoto, 1983; Kitao & Yoshida, 1985; Kitao, Kitao, Yoshida & Yoshida, 1985; S. Yoshida, 1985; Kitao, Yoshida & Yoshida, 1986; Yoshida & Kitao, 1986) over a period of five years involving more than 2,500 Japanese college students in more than ten different colleges, it was concluded that:

1) Japanese college students could read an essay better than the other four literary forms (a newspaper article, a poem, directions, and a dialogue) that were researched.
2) They understood the other literary forms, but it took them longer.
3) They read very slowly. Generally, students who read faster had higher comprehension scores.
4) Students' vocabulary was poor.
5) Over the course of an academic year, students could improve their reading comprehension and their ability to anticipate and relate the ideas in the text if they were taught to read using a method that avoided translation.

Reading Speed

Yoshida & Kitao (1986) found that Japanese college students could read only 105 words per minute in a situation when they were asked to read fast, and when they did read at that rate, their comprehension was only 54%. The researchers speculated that many students believed that if they read slowly, they could answer comprehension questions better. This is a myth. In fact, if a reader reads too slowly, it is more difficult to relate the ideas in a passage, and it is more difficult to understand the passage. Short-term memory does not retain information for long, and it is impossible to relate previous information with new information if the reader reads too slowly (Smith, 1982). Thus, reading slowly hinders comprehension.

There are many reasons Japanese people read English passages slowly. First of all, letters of the Roman alphabet are not easy for Japanese readers to recognize. They are used to reading Chinese characters and it is easier for them to visually identify Chinese characters than combinations of letters of the alphabet. If they pay close attention to the individual words, their eye span is narrower and they cannot grasp whole phrases. Japanese tend to see one word at a time. Native English speakers can recognize a word without considering the combination of letters (Weaver, 1980). If they are given non-English words or unnatural combinations of letters, they cannot recognize them. Native speakers also recognize words in familiar situations better than in unfamiliar situations (Reid, 1958). This also means that they recognize a group of words with one fixation of the eye, and theoretically, they can process four or five words at a time (Weaver, 1980).

Second, the Japanese language is usually read vertically. Japanese readers are not used to reading left to right. H. Yoshida (1985) found that Japanese can read faster if words or phrases are placed vertically on a computer screen.

Third, Japanese have more frequent regressions when they read in English, that is, they go back and read the same words or phrases again while they are reading a passage (Takahashi & Takanashi, 1984). The reason Japanese readers do this is thought to be that they cannot relate the pieces of information they have read, and they cannot keep enough information in their short-term memory.

Fourth, English sentences have a word order different from Japanese, and it takes more time for Japanese readers to understand it. Most Japanese students tend to replace Japanese words and make Japanese sentences before they try to understand. That takes time, and readers lose the flow of the passage (Kitao, 1979).

Fifth, if Japanese readers find a word they do not know, they stop there automatically and consult an English-Japanese dictionary. They have not had the training to guess what the meaning of that word is in the context or to decide whether understanding that word is important. They do not try to guess the meaning in the context. In their native language, readers very rarely use dictionaries; they can often figure out the meaning of an unknown word from the context if they go on reading or at least decide that the word is unimportant. However, Japanese readers of English are more likely to stop reading and worry about that new word, which slows down their reading.

Vocabulary

Most Japanese students have learned less than 3,000 English words by the time they graduate from high school. (This number includes all the forms of the same word counted as separate words, e.g., go, went, and gone are counted as three words. It may include only one meaning for each word, even though most common words have many meanings [Kitao, Kitao, Nozawa, & Yamamoto, 1985]). Also, some of the words may be archaic or obscure and many words in common or daily use are not included (Kitao & Kitao, 1985). If a passage has more than five percent new words, it is difficult for students to understand (Kitao, Broderick, Fujiwara, Kitao, & Sackett, 1985). In texts written for native English speakers, which are often used in college reading classes in Japan, more than 5% of the words are new to most Japanese readers.

Another problem concerning vocabulary is that Japanese do not learn the relationships among words. They do not know antonyms or synonyms or words with similar meaning (Kitao, Broderick, Fujiwara, Kitao, & Sackett, 1985). Thus, in reading a text, they often do not realize that two words have the same meaning or that two words are opposites. Without understanding the relationships among words, it is hard to understand the passage.

Attention to Individual Words

Native speakers pay attention to clauses rather than individual words, the clause being the minimum unit of meaning. However, Japanese readers tend to pay equal attention to each individual word (H. Yoshida, 1985). Not many of them seem to understand which words are important and which are not. The same is true of sentences. Readers tend to try to understand each sentence independently without understanding the relationships among them or which sentence is most important.

Literal Meaning and Implication

To understand a passage, it is often necessary to understand not only the literal meaning of the text but what it implies. This is difficult for Japanese readers. Japanese readers may not grasp the implications and may just pass them by. Knowledge of grammar helps readers to understand sentences, but this is not enough to understand the full meaning that the writer intended.

Many Japanese students believe that if they understand all the parts of a passage, they can understand the whole. They try to understand each word and accumulate the meanings of words, sentences and then understand the passage. They seldom anticipate the whole meaning first and then test their hypothesis, as good readers do in their native language.

Even though the Japanese know much more about the United States than they do about other countries, their knowledge is limited. They do not know much about the daily life, school life, ways of thinking, patterns of discourse, etc., of Americans—that is, they do not share the schemata that Americans do. Therefore, when Japanese people encounter new situations in reading, they have difficulty understanding them. This is one of the biggest barriers to full communication. If people do not share the same experiences or background knowledge, the efficiency of their communication is limited.

There are many aspects of cultural and social competence. The English language and communication using the English language are deeply embedded in English-speaking people's cultures and societies. Japanese people who do not have much cultural and social competence may not understand certain meanings or may misunderstand because they interpret meanings using their own cultural and social assumptions.

When reading English written by and intended for native speakers of English (authentic English), Japanese readers are often in the position of a person overhearing a conversation about which he/she knows little or nothing. Even if the listener understands the meanings of all the words and all the grammatical structures, he/she may not understand the conversation. The reason is that the speakers are not considering the person who overhears the conversation. References that the intended listener understands may not be clear to an unintended listener. The same problem occurs when Japanese read many texts written in English. A reader who is not a native English speaker may not understand references or inferences intended for native English speakers.

The schemata and associations necessary to understand authentic English texts are not necessarily familiar to Japanese. Writers writing for native English speakers in general or a specific group of native English speakers include information relevant to the reader, but they may not include enough information for Japanese people. Writers provide the information that is necessary for their audience. They refer to previous texts or current events which intended readers already know without explaining their significance in detail. They convey cultural and social meanings without explanations. Since Japanese people lack much of the cultural and social information which native speakers of English, or a specific group of native English speakers, share, there is a big gap between Japanese and native speakers' nonvisual information.

Non-native readers reading authentic English can potentially miscomprehend or not comprehend due to any of the following factors, listed by Carrell (1984). The reader might not have an existing schema—that is, might not have the background knowledge that the writer assumes. The reader's schema might not be sufficiently developed to fully comprehend the text. The text may not contain enough cues to allow the non-native reader to activate an appropriate schema (even though it is sufficient for a native reader). Multiple schema might be appropriate, but the non-native reader may not be able to make use of grammatical or semantic information to choose among the possible interpretations. Lastly, the reader may choose an inappropriate schema. Again, non-native readers are less able to make use of grammatical, semantic, and other information that would allow them to choose the appropriate schema.

Development of Paragraphs

Kaplan's (1966) analysis shows clear differences in development of paragraphs in different language groups. He characterizes the development of English paragraphs as being in a straight line and paragraphs written in Oriental languages as being developed in a spiral. These results may, to some extent, represent the ethnocentric biases of the researcher, but they show, at least, that patterns of expressing ideas are different. Japanese readers might find it difficult to follow the logic of English. Opinions or judgments are based on English-speaking people's values. Without understanding them, it is very difficult to understand the text.

Improving the Teaching of Reading in English

This discussion and our experience teaching English reading prompt some recommendations about how the teaching of reading at the college level in English to Japanese readers might be improved.

First, appropriate levels of reading texts should be chosen for Japanese college students. They should be slightly above students' English proficiency. Krashen and Terrell (1984) argue that input should be at an i + 1 level (slightly above the current level of proficiency) and comprehensible. Only a few new language items should be added to the old ones. According to Kitao and Kitao (1982), readings should not include too many unknown words or much slang or dialect or too many technical terms, idioms, etc. New vocabulary should be kept to less than five percent of the total words in the text and syntax should not be too complex. The content should include some cultural information but should not be heavily culturally oriented, because students may lack the schemata necessary to comprehend. The content should be understandable, meaningful, interesting and new to students. Textbooks should have some visual materials and exercises to help students understand what they are reading. Passages should be written for non-native speakers, at least initially, and should have correct and natural English.

Second, textbooks should not use exercises that involve replacing Japanese words with English words. Students need to read English without using Japanese; this makes it easier to follow logic in English and understand associations in English. No matter how well we choose Japanese words to translate English words into, they have different meanings and associations, and Japanese words distort any cultural meanings of words or the passage. Also, replacing words takes much time and slows reading down greatly.

Third, before students read, teachers should do something to prepare the students for the reading. Teachers might explain the background or something about the text, or discuss the topic. Students can be asked about what they already know about that topic. If the text is very difficult, students can be given a summary or some clues to help them understand the text. They can read a summary of the passage in written in easy English first. This helps students activate their knowledge about the subject and anticipate the content of the text. Giving students a summary in advance worked very well in listening practice (Arima, Kitao, Kitao, & Yoshioka, 1984) and giving them an easier version of a reading has also worked well (personal communication, Okada, T., 1980).

Carrell (1984) made some suggestions for activating students' schemata in order to improve their reading comprehension. She suggested that background material could be provided in the forms of lectures, movies, slides, demonstrations, class discussions, predictions about the text, etc. These activities, which Carrell stated are best used in varying combinations, provide background knowledge that help students comprehend the text material. For students with vocabulary difficulties, Carrell recommended introducing vocabulary before the reading of the text. However, simply providing lists of words and definitions does not seem to help as much as looking at the words in terms of its associations (e.g., antonyms, synonyms, attributes, personal experiences, etc.) (Langer, 1981).

Hudson (1982) compared three types of prereading activities. He found that a series of activities that included looking at and discussing pictures related to the text and privately making predictions about the content of the text improved the comprehension of students of beginning and intermediate reading proficiency.

Langer (1981) proposed a prereading plan that would help teachers identify what students know about a topic. This makes teachers better aware of what background knowledge students might be lacking, as well as activating schemata and helping students anticipate the content of the reading. The plan involves three steps: 1) initial associations with the concept (ask students for anything that comes to mind when they hear the key concept), 2) reflections on the initial associations (ask students what made them think of particular associations in the first step, for the purpose of revising, rejecting, integrating, etc., the associations), and 3) reformulation of knowledge (ask students for new ideas on the concept, based on the discussion in the first two steps).

Fourth, students should be encouraged to read faster, for example, by keeping track of their reading speed. Students will improve not only reading speed but also reading comprehension (Kitao & Miyamoto, 1982; Kitao & Miyamoto, 1983; Kitao & Yoshida, 1985; Kitao, Kitao, Yoshida & Yoshida, 1985; Kitao, Yoshida & Yoshida, 1986; Yoshida & Kitao, 1986).

Fifth, students should have a purpose for reading each time they read, whether it is looking for a particular piece of information or getting the main idea of the text. One technique is to give students questions before reading as well as directions on how to read the text.

Sixth, students should be taught about the organization of English passages, including how to find the main idea and its supporting details, and how sentences and paragraphs are connected and organized. Students should do exercises to outline or summarize the passages, put main concepts in order, draw diagrams, etc. It is also helpful to teach students about the common rhetorical patterns of English, such as classification, problem-solution, cause and effect, etc. (Carrell, 1985).

Seventh, teachers should teach some basic reading techniques, such as skimming, scanning, finding topic sentences in each paragraph and the supporting details and examples.

Eighth, teachers should have students do activities that involve real experiences. In the classroom, activities are often very artificial. However, if there is a real purpose for reading because there is an opportunity for students to do something using information they read, it is real experience and students enjoy this type of activity. One activity that our students have particularly enjoyed is cooking from recipes that they read in English. If doing outside activities is not practical, students can do skits or role plays, if appropriate to the text.

Ninth, students should have the opportunity to discuss the text and exchange ideas about it, including giving their own opinions on an issue or comparing the situation described in the text with a similar situation in Japan. This gives students an opportunity to relate their knowledge and previous experience with the text.

Tenth, students can study more about the topic or cultural information provided in the text. If they know more about English-speaking cultures and societies, they can understand English texts better.

Conclusion

We have discussed the process of reading and the difficulties that Japanese students have reading English, based on previous studies and on our experiences in teaching English and developing reading materials. Based on that discussion, we made ten suggestions about what could be done in Japanese college English reading classes to improve the situation.

These recommendations suggest important research directions in English language teaching. How can students be taught to deal with unknown elements in a reading text? What types of prereading preparation are most effective? How can the organization of English paragraphs and texts be taught most effectively? What are the effects of having real experiences or role playing associated with reading texts? What types of experiences are best? What types of background and cultural information are necessary for various types of reading? How can these schemata best be developed? Can students be taught to be more sensitive to cues that help them choose among various schemata? How can schemata that students already have be activated?

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III

JAPANESE STUDENTS' KNOWLEDGE OF AMERICAN CULTURE

THE TEACHING OF AMERICAN CULTURE IN SECONDARY ENGLISH COURSES IN JAPAN: AN ANALYSIS OF TEXTBOOKS

Kenji Kitao

Abstract

In order to communicate effectively with English-speaking people, Japanese need to have some understanding of their culture. Since what is taught in secondary schools depends heavily on the textbook, it is useful to analyze textbooks to find out what and how much is being included in the textbook in relation to American culture. In this paper, I have summarized seven studies that have been done on textbooks used in Japanese secondary schools. In general, the conclusion of the studies is that American culture is not included extensively in any series of textbooks. Specifically, the textbooks do not exploit some of the material that they could make use of, such as covert culture in illustrations or vocabulary that has a cultural background different from Japanese. In recent years, the trend has been to include information about countries other than English-speaking countries.

Introduction

Although Japan and the United States have had diplomatic and commercial relations for more than a century, communication and understanding between the two nations are still insufficient. More Japanese people are encountering more American people, products, information and culture on a daily basis than ever before. Thus, better understanding and communication between the citizens of the two cultures is necessary.

Communication is affected by all aspects of culture—the speakers' languages and dialects, their experiences and prior knowledge, kinesics, the social restrictions on directness of speech, etc. Japanese and Americans have very different cultural backgrounds and such differences are major barriers to communication between them. In the United States, the importance of teaching culture was recognized after World War II and has become one of the two major emphases in the teaching of foreign languages, the other being individualized instruction (Lafayette, 1975).

American culture began to be emphasized in English instruction in Japan as communication was increasingly stressed. However, no books or articles on what to teach about American culture and how to teach it were available in Japan. Very few studies in this field had been made, and none of them were based on experiments or surveys made with an adequate sample size across wide areas of American culture (Kitao, 1978).

I administered questionnaires to Japanese students in the United States in order to find out how much American culture was taught in English classes in Japan, how well it was taught and what cultural problems those students had. The results of the survey showed that there is little foundation for understanding and communication between Japanese and American people. The Japanese students were taught very little about American culture in English courses at any level, so their understanding of American culture was quite limited. As a result they had some problems understanding Americans and communicating with them (Kitao, 1978).

Cultural Information and English Textbooks

There are many ways to investigate what and how much is taught about American culture in secondary schools (junior and senior high schools—from seventh to twelfth grade) in Japan, such as through examinations, observations, and interviews. However, it is hard to obtain accurate, objective results since what is taught varies from place to place. The easiest approach is through the examination of English textbooks.

This procedure is valid because, as Kurokawa (1973) has stated, textbooks are the most important element in school education. All textbooks used in elementary and secondary schools must be authorized by the Ministry of Education. They are strictly based on the guidelines formulated by the Ministry of Education. Most teachers use only one such textbook and rely on it entirely while they teach English. Therefore, textbooks are the center of English instruction and thus restrict the contents of English teaching.

Since the audio-lingual method was first adopted in junior high schools, many oral exercises have been added to English classes in addition to the usual reading and translating exercises found in most textbooks. These last two types have less influence now but are still the main focus of English instruction. In senior high schools, English teaching is based solely on textbooks. The teaching there is almost entirely reading and translating from the textbooks. Students read the textbooks very attentively, so the books do have great influence and are quite important in English courses.

In English textbooks, the teaching materials are most important in terms of teaching culture. Teaching material is defined as "concrete educational contents selected for learners in order to accomplish their educational goals" (Shibasaki, 1974: 16).

Along with grammar, vocabulary, reading materials, etc., the presentation of cultural information is recognized as one of the most important aspects of English textbooks. Danesi (1976) has said that it is one of the four important broad criteria for foreign language textbooks. Ahara (1976) has offered four criteria in selecting teaching material, of which two are: "whether the teaching materials are based on daily life," and "whether they promote international understanding and communication." Shibasaki (1974) has also pointed out four types of teaching materials that are important in expediting the learning of English, the third one being material on the cultural background of English. The background culture of English is at least one of the four most important items contained in English teaching materials.

According to the guidelines set by the Ministry of Education, foreign language textbooks must include such items as daily life, manners and customs, stories, geography, and history of the people who speak the language as well as of other people throughout the world (Ide, 1972). Until the mid-1960's, however, this was only a matter of theory, not practice. Then teachers began to pay more attention to nonlinguistic subject matter, according to the results of a questionnaire (Imura, 1975). As Ikemiya (1976: 21) has reported:

> In readers of ten years ago, literature and essays occupied 70% of the teaching material, but in the latest textbooks, only 50%, and biology, geology, chemistry, biography, and problems of cities have shown up. Cultural-anthropological and sociolinguistic teaching material has been gradually introduced. However, since international exchange is getting more frequent and more intercultural communication occurs, such teaching material should be introduced more often.

As time has passed, more cultural materials have been included in English textbooks, and they have been emphasized more by teachers. The third branch meeting of the Round Table Meeting of Improvement for English Education in Japan reported that sentence patterns and grammar had tended to be emphasized too much and reminded teachers to emphasize all five of the categories of teaching material. The first was concerned with daily life, and the fifth was intended to promote international understanding (Imura, 1976).

People in the profession of teaching English have emphasized the importance of the inclusion of culture in English textbooks, but unfortunately, the books do not have much cultural information, and they are not interesting. This boring teaching material has caused students to lose their motivation to learn English (Ahara, 1976). Culture can be one of the factors that can increase students' motivation; therefore, more interesting cultural items should be contained in English textbooks.

In this paper, "culture" is defined as the knowledge and behavior that a people in the same language community have learned and share among themselves.

Previous Studies of English Textbooks

There have been a few studies on culture in English textbooks in Japan. I will discuss them in detail.

English Conversation Textbooks

Hatori (1975) reviewed six English conversation textbooks used in senior high schools (see Appendix A). He compared their inside-cover material, their appendices, the number of units, their contents, their organization, and the patterns of English usage contained therein. The summary[1] in Table 1 is limited to the first three aspects that concern culture.

Since the purpose of English conversation courses is to teach the ABC's of daily conversation in English, their subject matter is concerned with the daily life of students at home, at school, and in society (Ministry of Education, 1972). Table 1 shows that all the textbooks of English conversation had information on daily life in Britain and the United States and also practical information (information useful for traveling around or living in those countries, such as using a telephone, traveling, using money, and shopping). Hatori noted that *Oral English Workshop* had illustrations of gestures inside the back cover but that no other English textbooks at the junior or senior high school level presented nonverbal communication systematically.

Judging from the topics Hatori cites as examples, most textbooks introduced American and British life. Students could learn from them about the background culture of English. Only *The Crown English*

TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF HATORI'S STUDY

Textbooks	Inside covers		Appendix	Number of Units and Contents
	Front	Back		
The Crown English Conversation	Introduction of characters	Songs	A song (1 page)	15 expressions, feeling, judgment, choice, etc.
Daily Conversation	Map and pictures of New York	Map and pictures of London	2 groups of useful expressions: (a) greetings, weather, etc. (b) visit, telephone, in the train, etc.	40 1-12 school life 13-24 home life 25-40 social life 25-30 Britain 31-40 U.S.A.
Let's Talk English	Blank	Blank	New words, useful expressions, notes	17 "A Friendly Walk" "The Party" "In the Station and the Train"
Ted and Julie	Blank	Blank	Index school life, health, showing the way, weather, etc.	20 "Ted & Julie on the Way to School" "Everybody Talks about the Weather" "It's Nice to Make Friends" etc.

TABLE 1 (con't)

Textbooks	Inside covers		Appendix	Number of Units and Contents
	Front	Back		
Oral English Workshop	Situations and Expressions	Gestures	Basic expressions, dialogues	9
English Conversation for Young People	Scene at school	Introduction of characters	Index useful expressions	27 "In the Classroom" "Introducing Friends" etc.

Conversation seemed to be expression-oriented and to be constructed on the basis of frequently used expressions in daily conversations, though all the textbooks were situation-oriented and were constructed on the basis of situations that frequently occur in daily life or that learners may encounter when they visit those countries, as their appendices show. These textbooks seemed to be well designed, for culture should be taught through expressions in situations, and they offered expression in various common situations.

English conversation courses seemed to give the most cultural information, including practical information, on the senior high school level. The textbooks used in those courses had more cultural information than the other English textbooks. Their subject matter was directly concerned with daily life at home, at school, and in the society of Britain and the United States.

However, Hatori did not outline the total subject matter, so we cannot know the total cultural information in these textbooks or how accurate this information was. Moreover, since English conversation was an elective, only 1.6 percent of the students in the senior high schools used these textbooks, according to statistics from the Ministry of Education (Hatori, 1975).

This is the only study of culture in English textbooks for senior high school students that I found. I could not find any study on culture in textbooks for English A, English B or elementary English.[2] However, there are a few thorough studies on culture in junior high school English textbooks.

Studies of Junior High School Textbooks

Ide (1972) and Saito (1974) have made extensive studies of culture in English textbooks at the junior high school level. Ide (1972) reviewed five textbook series, fifteen books in all (see Appendix B) and Saito (1974) reviewed four series of revised textbooks totaling twelve books (see Appendix C). The major concern of both studies was to describe what cultural information is contained in the books.

Ide's study. Ide (1972) did two major studies. One was to find out what subjects were contained in the textbooks and how many of them were contained in each (see results in Table 2). She used nine categories: (1) objects around people, (2) daily life, (3) manners and customs, (4) scenes and nature, (5) geography, history, and language, (6) science, (7) stories, (8) ideas and imagination, and (9) miscellaneous. The second study was to find out how close the cultural information in these textbooks was to the Japanese culture (see results in Table 3).

Her first study showed that all fifteen textbooks included daily life. Yet, only four included it in more than half of the units, and four textbooks had it in fewer than one third of the units. Manners and customs were seldom introduced. Four textbooks did not mention them at all while the eight that did included manners and customs in only one or two units, and none of the textbooks referred to them in more than one third of the units. Geography, history, and language did not appear at all in six textbooks, and in only one textbook did they appear in more than one third of the units. Scenes and nature were not introduced at all in five textbooks, and they were not introduced in more than one third of the units in any textbook; therefore, no textbook displayed much cultural information.

Table 2 (Ide, 1972: 15) showed that all the textbooks used similar

TABLE 2
SUBJECT MATTER OF ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS
AT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

Text Series	New Prince			New Horizon			Total			Everyday			Blue Sky		
Year	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Objects around people	B			A			C			B			C		
Daily life	C	B	D	B	B	B	A	B	D	A	B	C	A	A	B
Manners and customs	D	D	D		C	C		D	D	D		D		D	C
Scenes and nature	C		C			D		D	D	D		D	D	C	C
Geography, history, language		D	B		D	C	D				D	D	D	C	
Science		D	D						C		D				
Stories	D	B	B		C	B		D	B		C	B		C	B
Ideas, imagination			D					B	C						C
Other		D					D	C						C	

A = in more than half of the units C = in more than two units
B = in more than one third of the units D = in one or two units

approaches. They moved from concrete things to abstract things. In every series, objects connected with people were introduced in Book 1. The same approach was adopted in culture. Ide's second study shows this clearly. She classified cultural information in four major categories. Category (a) was items that were the same as in Japanese culture, and it included the introduction of Japanese culture, which was marked (a⁺). Category (b) was items partially overlapping those in with

TABLE 3
DIFFERENCES OF CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS OF THEMES IN ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS

	New Prince			New Horizon			Total			Everyday			Blue Sky		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Content Rating															
a*	D	D	D			D			C			D			C
a	B	C	D	A	B	D	A	B	C	A	C	D	A	C	C
b	C	C		D	C	C	C	D		C	D		C	C	D
c	C	C			D	D		D	D		D			C	C
c⁺	D	C	B		C	C	C	C	B	D	B	A	D	C	C
d		D	B		D	B		D			C	D		C	B

A = more than 2/3 of the units   C = more than 2 units
B = more than 1/3 of the units   D = 1 or 2 units

Japanese culture. Category (c) was items different from those in Japanese culture, and things that did not exist in Japanese were marked (c⁺). Items of foreign culture that were not part of English speakers' normal experience is classified (d).

As Table 3 (Ide, 1972: 16) shows, all the textbooks had sequences which went from cultural information similar to that found in the Japanese culture to the cultural aspects that were new to the Japanese people. All the textbooks displayed Category (a) most in Book 1 and least in Book 3, and Category (c⁺) least in Book 1 and most in Book 3. None of the textbooks presented aspects of other foreign cultures in Book 1. The order of introducing cultural information was very good.

However, Categories (b), (c), and (c⁺) did not appear often in these textbooks. Category (b) appeared in less than one third of the units, and it did not appear in three textbooks. Category (c) did not appear in six textbooks; it appeared in one or two units in five textbooks. Only four textbooks contained (c⁺) in more than one third of the units.

Ide did not explain how she did her studies, but they seem to have been done by units. If one unit had even a little information, then it appears that she counted the entire unit. Therefore, these figures may appear to indicate that these textbooks contained more cultural information than they really did. Another weak point of her study is that she reviewed only the main body of the textbooks, not the appendices, covers, etc. Furthermore, she provided only nine categories of cultural information.

Saito's study. Saito (1974) also made broad studies of the cultural information found in four junior high school English textbook series (see results in Table 4 [Saito, 1974: 16]). He provided fifteen categories,

TABLE 4
CONNECTIONS OF THEMES IN THE REVISED ENGLISH BOOKS

Themes	Grade:	7 (Book 1)				8 (Book 1)				9 (Book 1)			
	Textbook:	E	H	P	T	E	H	P	T	E	H	P	T
Objects around us		×	×	×	×								
People around us		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×				
Daily life		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Manners and customs		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Greetings		×	×	×									
Classroom English			×		×								
Sports		×	×	×									
Biography						×			×	×	×	×	×
Geography, scenery, history		×	×			×	×	×		×	×		
International understanding					×		×		×	×	×	×	
Science						×		×	×		×	×	×
Observation of nature					×				×			×	×
Dramas and stories				×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Poems						×							
Songs						×		×		×			

E = *Everyday English*
H = *New Horizon English Course*
P = *New Prince English Course*
T = *Total English Junior Crown Series*
× = Item contained in the textbook

rather than nine. Eight categories were added to Ide's—people around us, greetings, classroom English, sports, biography, international understanding, poems, and songs. He reviewed not only the lessons proper but also the inside covers, appendices, etc. (see results in Table 5 [Saito, 1974: 17]).

TABLE 5
COMPARISON AMONG ITEMS OUTSIDE THE TEXT PROPER IN THE REVISED TEXTBOOKS

Themes	Grade: 7th				8th				9th			
	Textbook: E	H	P	T	E	H	P	T	E	H	P	T
Songs	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×
Illustrations	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Pictures of objects around us	×	×	×									
Scenery (12 months)			×									
Picture of scenes in the main text								×				×
Maps						×		×				
Proverbs												×
Poems												×
Greetings				×								
Daily conversation								×				

E = *Everyday English*
H = *New Horizon English Course*
P = *New Prince English Course*
T = *Total English Junior Crown Series*
× = Item contained in the textbook

The first study showed that all twelve textbooks included the categories daily life, manners, and customs. Objects around us were included in Book 1 (seventh grade) of all the series, and people around us, Books 1 and 2 (eighth grade). Dramas and stories were included in Books 2 and 3 of some but not all of the series. Biography was contained in Book 3 of all the series. However, geography, scenery, and history were not included at all in the *Total English Junior Course Series*, and they were included only in Book 2 of the *New Prince English Course*.

Greetings were included in Book 1 in all of the series except the *Total English Junior Crown Series*, though this series did not include them in other books. All the textbooks contained songs, either in the main text or in other parts. Illustrations were contained in every book, but only two textbooks had maps. Nonverbal communication was not dealt with in any of these textbooks at all.

Saito's study showed what kind of cultural information was contained in the English textbooks at the junior high level, but it did not show how much cultural information was contained.

Conclusion. These two studies quantified and described the subject matter found in junior high school English textbooks. It was obvious that little cultural information was contained in these textbooks. Moreover, such cultural information was twofold, being based on an overlapping of culture between Japan and the United States, on one hand, and, on the other, on the culture unique to the United States. Therefore, one can easily understand how little of the latter was contained in these textbooks. These two studies showed the outline of the types of cultural information in the textbooks, but they did not include sensitive measures of how much such information was contained and whether it was accurate.

Comparison with Another Series

In a fourth study, Yoshida (1975) compared five English textbooks at the junior high level with *L'anglais par L'illustration*, which were the most widely used English textbooks in France. He made his comparison using five series of textbooks, fifteen in all, and the first three volumes of *L'anglais par L'illustration*. The major parts of his study were concerned with illustration and vocabulary related to culture.

Yoshida pointed out that the French textbooks have almost twice as many pages, and many times more pictures and photos than the

Japanese textbooks. He also pointed out that though all the Japanese textbooks had illustrations, there were only two pages of photos (there were two or three color photos in each textbook). Japanese textbooks had poor visual materials, in comparison to the French textbooks, and most of the cultural information was presented entirely in English.

Yoshida's study emphasized vocabulary. The French textbook contained 656 words relating to home life, people, nature, social life, school life, time, and community. Of those 656 words, 269 were not included in the Japanese textbooks. A breakdown of those 269 words is shown in Table 6 (Yoshida, 1975: 15).

TABLE 6
NUMBER OF WORDS THAT APPEAR
IN *L'ANGLAIS PAR L'ILLUSTRATION*
BUT DO NOT APPEAR IN ANY OF THE JAPANESE TEXTBOOKS

	Number of Words
Home Life	99
People	58
Nature	55
Social Life	35
School Life	9
Time	7
Community	6
Total	269

Table 6 (Yoshida, 1975: 15) shows that 99 words about home life, 58 words about people, 55 words about nature, and 35 words about social life included in the French books were not introduced in the Japanese books. Thus we can see that Japanese textbooks were lacking in vocabulary, particularly vocabulary involving home life. Among the 58 words about people that are not included, most (36) referred to occupations, as Table 7 (Yoshida, 1975: 16) shows. In addition, Ide (1976) pointed out that very few of the words that were included convey much

of the culture of the English-speaking people. Of the 610 words required to be taught in junior high school English classes by the Ministry of Education, only a very few words needed explanations of English speakers' culture. Thus, Japanese textbooks did not exploit vocabulary to convey cultural information about English speakers.

TABLE 7
NUMBER OF WORDS CONCERNED WITH PEOPLE

	a French Textbook	b Japanese Textbook	a−b
Human Relationships	13	11	2
Family	19	14	5
Human Body	35	20	15
Occupations	58	22	36
Total	125	67	58

It is somewhat surprising that Japanese textbooks had few photos and pictures and little vocabulary pertaining to cultural information. The French textbooks had a number of illustrations and words that described situations. Since all the series of Japanese textbooks had fewer illustrations and less vocabulary than the French series, it was obvious that none of the Japanese series had as much cultural information as the French series in terms of vocabulary and illustrations.

The studies of junior high school English textbooks were concerned with the volume of cultural information. The first two dealt with subject matter and the last with illustrations and vocabulary. They were not concerned with the quality of the cultural information and how accurate it was. Of course, they did not reveal whether any covert culture had been presented at all.

Accuracy and Covert Culture[3]

An examiner of textbooks at the Ministry of Education, reviewed five English textbooks for seventh-grade students (Book 1) from the viewpoint of culture and customs (Ogasawara, 1972). The reason he chose the beginning books was that he wanted to show that a great deal of culture was taught through such elementary textbooks. Therefore, the main part of this study was a discussion of how cultural information was presented and how accurate it was in each textbook.

He chose eighteen points and discussed them. These eighteen points involved names and occupational positions, conversations among American people, the use of the national flag, the use of words—*ladies and gentlemen*, *friend*, and *friendly*—greetings, men and women, sharing work at home, married students, the use of commands, house numbers, train stations, fences around houses, furniture in living rooms, class schedules, world maps, and classes of objects. His observations were detailed so that he picked up very small things such as words, scenes, parts of pictures, etc., and he discussed their cultural relationships.

His study revealed that each of the English textbooks provided much covert cultural information. Some of it was wrong, but it is not very obvious from his discussion how much covert cultural information the books contained. He gives only a few examples; there are presumably more examples of covert culture in these textbooks, and surely some in Books 2 and 3 as well.

Summary

These five studies showed that some aspects of culture were taught in English conversations classes at senior high schools. However, the exact cultural information in these textbooks was not stated, except for a few examples, and nothing concerned with English A and English B texts had been studied.

English teaching at the junior high level in the mid-1970's can be best understood by looking at the last four studies. One understands what subject matter was presented through the textbooks, how much cultural information was provided by the units and by other sections apart from the main text, and how close such cultural aspects were to Japanese culture. Even if these studies did not show the exact volume of cultural information contained in the textbooks, one can estimate from the vocabulary and illustrations that there was much less cultural information than in the French textbooks. Ogasawara made it clear that even beginning textbooks contained some covert cultural information, and he discussed the accuracy of the cultural information.

Evaluating English Textbooks in Terms of Culture

In the previous studies there were two major kinds of analyses of English textbooks from the viewpoint of culture—objective and subjective. The objective approach quantified and described the cultural information included, usually in terms of units, words, and illustrations. The subjective approach involved the author's judgment of the accuracy with which the textbooks presented cultural information, based on experience and knowledge of the background culture of English. The former gives a rough idea of how much cultural information is available and its subject matter, and the latter gives an indication of what covert culture is included and how accurately the material is presented.

Both approaches have drawbacks. For example, the objective approach, as it is applied by these researchers, does not show the actual volume of cultural information except in terms of the number of units. How much cultural information is contained in a single unit is not revealed. The results will only show that each unit counted has such cultural information. This method also fails to show how accurately the cultural information is presented. On the other hand, the subjective method does not show which subject matter or what kind of cultural information is contained as a whole. However, it does show how accurately the material is presented, at least in the judgment of the author. Both methods have merits and drawbacks, the strengths of the one being the weaknesses of the other. Thus both methods should be adopted in the analysis of English textbooks.

Another shortcoming of these studies is that the writers did not explain how their subject matter categories were chosen, how criteria were established, etc. In other words, we cannot know the exact procedures of the studies.

Joiner's Form

Only a few studies show methods of analysis of cultural information in foreign-language textbooks. Joiner (1974) developed a form for evaluating the cultural content of a foreign-language text. Her study has four major sections: (1) illustrations, (2) texts containing material of a cultural nature, (3) general questions related to culture, and (4) supplementary material available from the publisher. Section I of the form for evaluation is divided into three parts. The first is about types of illustrations and their quantity; the second is about aspects of the society represented by the illustrations (socio-economic groups, ages, etc.); and the third, the subjective evaluation of the cultural information in those illustrations on continua from authentic to inauthentic, inoffensive to controversial, etc. Section II contains three parallel parts. The first two are checklists of types of texts (explanatory cultural notes, songs, etc.) and segments of society represented in the texts. The third evaluates the text in terms of whether it is positive, lively, balanced, etc. Section III has six questions about bias, stereotypes, the overall impression of the book, etc., that call for examiners to give subjective answers concerned with cultural information. The last section (Section IV) is on what is available as supplementary material. The evaluation form that she presents is very long, including many vague questions that call for subjective answers. This form does not classify items in regard to the culture involved; thus a revision of this form is necessary.

High School English Readers

The purpose of this study was to find out what was taught about American culture and how well it was taught in high school English courses in the late 1970's in both junior and senior high schools. This was done by examining the authorized (*Monbusho*-approved) English textbooks used in classes.

Measurement Instrument. Using Joiner's "Form for Evaluating the Cultural Content of Foreign Language Texts" as a basis, I made a new revised form for analyzing the cultural information in texts (Kitao, 1979). The objective parts of Joiner's form were adopted (Section 1, Part A, and Section 2, Part A). The former was used with only the addition of "portraits" since so many portraits appear in Japanese texts. However, contents of the latter were changed. It was divided into two sections: type of writing and subject matter, using many categories from Allen (1955) on both sections and from Doty and Ross (1973) on subject matter only. This new form includes a checklist of culture with a big C, culture with a small c,[4] practical information, and covert culture.

Texts Analyzed. For this study (Kitao, 1979), I analyzed ten series of high school reading textbooks (see Appendix D). I chose high school reading textbooks, because there were not many studies of high school English textbooks and because readers seemed to contain more cultural information than did composition or grammar textbooks.

Procedure. Using the form that I developed, I evaluated the textbooks. After recording basic information about the text, I counted the number of illustrations in each category, and the number in each category related to the United States. Illustrations of uncertain origin were counted as being related to American culture if they appeared to be of the United States.

I also counted the number of readings of each type related to American culture, and the number of units that included information in each area of subject matter. Any unit that included any information at all was counted.

Results and Discussion. I found that less than half of the units in the books contained any information about American culture. Eight readers (out of a total of thirty) had fewer than four such units.

As for illustrations, seventeen of the books had fewer than two photographs related to American culture. Most of the photographs that were used were of famous places, rather than of daily life or school life in the United States. Only eleven of the readers had maps of all or part of the United States.

The readings in the textbooks were mainly essays, with some narratives and dialogues. Every series had letters, but only one had a newspaper article.

In the evaluation of content, neither American literature nor music was covered sufficiently. Every series had some geography, but four did not have any history. Even when such content was included, the coverage was superficial and narrow. Therefore, there was not much information about Culture with a big C.

American culture with a small c was not covered extensively, either. All the series did have some units dealing with daily life, and seven of the series had units dealing with school life. However, only seven of the books had units dealing with manners and customs. None of the books dealt in any way with nonverbal communication.

This analysis dealt mainly with overt culture. While I did notice some elements of covert culture, they were not necessarily easy to find, and I do not know how well they were exploited in the classroom. However, based on my own experiences and conversations with teachers and students, I doubt that they are emphasized to any extent, since most teachers tend to dwell on grammar points and translation.

Summary. The main conclusion of this study is that high school English readers in Japan in the 1970's did not present American culture sufficiently. American culture was, for the most part, not presented either through illustrations or through texts.

Recent Studies

Cultures Included in Junior High Textbooks

Fujita (1987) analyzed six English textbook series authorized by the Ministry of Education for junior high schools (see Appendix E) from the viewpoints of what cultures are included and what aspects of American culture are included. I have summarized his study in Table 8.

Fujita points out that all the textbooks deal with English-speaking countries in the seventh grade, neighboring countries in the eighth grade, and other countries in the ninth grade. He also found that seventh grade textbooks deal with scenes and daily life, eighth grade texts with customs and traditions, and ninth grade texts with a variety of world cultures. He concludes that all textbooks handle a sufficient variety of cultures and if students spend enough time studying English with any of the six textbook series, they will be aware of different cultures.

A new trend in English textbooks is to include information about a variety of countries rather than only the United States and Britain or even English-speaking countries, treating English as an international language rather than a language of English-speaking people. A sufficient variety of cultures are introduced, and students using these texts will be made aware of diversity of cultures in the world. However, this may not help students communicate with people in English, particularly with Americans and other English-speaking people.

There are many cultural aspects of English which people need to know in order to communicate with others in English. Functions of communication such as greetings, showing appreciation, agreeing and disagreeing, compliments, apologizing, inviting, and suggesting all include cultural aspects, and such aspects are somewhat different in English and Japanese. It is also important to know people and their background for effective communication. These textbooks do not

TABLE 8

COUNTRIES AND TOPICS IN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

New Crown	neighbor countries	Singapore	clean and green
		Korea	being forced to use a foreign language
	African countries	Kenya, Niger	Swahili
	English-speaking countries	Australia & New Zealand	geographical location
		London	Speaker's corner, Cockney
		US	Martin L. King
			Salt Lake
			Paul Bunyan
New Everyday	Asia	Cambodia	refugee camp
	South America	Amazon	
	Europe		Marco Polo
			Pinocchio
			Henry Fabre
	English-speaking countries	Britain	monthly views
			origin of English
			Norman Conquest
		US	lunch, cafeteria
			body language
			racial problem
			saving people
			financial independence

TABLE 8 (con't)

New Horizon	Africa		hunger
	Europe	Paris	
		Norway	
			Altamira Cave
		Greece	Echo
	English-speaking countries	Britain	London
		US	Lincoln
			gestures
			manners
			camp
			giving change
One World	Asia	Singapore	multi-lingual
	Africa	Ghana	junior high kids
	English-speaking countries	US	New York
			Washington, D.C.
			Indians
			barbecue
			ideas (based on ability)
	with Japan		home life
			school life
	Japan abroad		Ukiyoe, Kana, Shogun, Zen

TABLE 8 (con't)

Sunshine	Japan		Americans
	Asia	Singapore	
		New Guinea	
	Africa	Kenya	protecting animals
	English-speaking countries	Australia	railroad
		Britain	daily life
			April Fool
		US	conversations during meals
			colors
			grades
			New York
Total	Asia	Singapore	multi languages
	Europe		Troy
			Anne Frank
			William Tell
			Aesop's fables
	English-speaking countries	Australia	seasons, animals
		Canada	Quebec, others
		Britain	Silas Marner
			Romeo and Juliet
		US	Houston and Chiba
			Little House on the Prairie
			proverbs
			holidays
			etiquette

necessarily provide enough information for the basis of good communication with Americans.

Aspects of American Culture Included in Junior High Texts

In order to find out what is taught about American culture in recent American textbooks, I surveyed all the government-authorized series of English textbooks used in junior high school in 1988 (see Appendix E), six series of three textbooks each.

Methods. The survey included the inside covers, main texts and appendices. I counted how many times American cultural items appeared in different units or in appendices or inside covers. The classification system used was the list of American cultural items from the Test of American Culture (Kitao, 1979). The functions of greeting and introduction were added to the list, since they are culturally important and commonly used.

Instances of the categories of American culture were counted according to how many units, insides of covers, or appendices they appeared in. The same item was counted only once, even if it appeared in more than one unit or in the inside covers or appendices. For example, if "Mr." was used in one unit, it was counted as one instance of form of address. Even if it was used again in another unit, if it was used to refer to the same person, it was not counted again. I counted the occurrence of items related to American culture in all the textbooks twice and an assistant checked all the items that were different in the two counts and finalized the results.

Results and discussion. The results are shown in Table 9.

These results indicate the maximum amount of American cultural information contained in textbooks. For example, if baseball is included in an American context, it is counted as one instance of sports. If someone buys something with American money, it is counted as one instance of money.

Among the fifty-two items, twenty-one, more than one third, never appear in any of the 18 textbooks. Among those are many items such

TABLE 9
SUMMARY OF AMERICAN CULTURAL INFORMATION IN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS IN 1988

	New Crown			New Everyday			New Horizon			One World			Sunshine			Total		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
1. Literature			2					1			2	1		1	3		3	2
2. Music	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	3	1	1	2	3	1
3. History		1										1			1			
4. Industry																		
5. Politics																		
6. Famous Places		1		1	2		1	1	2		2	1	2	1	2		1	
7. States	1	1				1	1	2	1						1			
8. Transportation							1											
9. Superstition																		
10. Sports	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	1	1		2	1	
11. Religion										1								
12. Newspapers																		
13. Magazines																		
14. The Economy																		
15. Education	1	1					1							1		1	1	1
16. Leisure					1				1									
17. TV and Movies			1		1							1		1				
18. Medicine																		
19. Sex Roles																		
20. The Family																		
21. Driving			1														1	1
22. Holidays		1	1					1	1				1	2		1	1	2
23. Events and Ceremonies									1					1				
24. Customs				1					1		2			1				
25. American Character					2				1						1			
26. Temperature																		
27. Shopping			1		1	1	1	1			1							1
28. Postage																		
29. The Telephone				1	1						1				1			1

TABLE 9 (con't)
SUMMARY OF AMERICAN CULTURAL INFORMATION IN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS IN 1988

	New Crown			New Everyday			New Horizon			One World			Sunshine			Total		
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
30. Money						1								1				
31. Letters	1	1			1		1	1			2		1		2	1	1	1
32. Measurements (1)																		
33. Measurements (2)																		
34. Nicknames																		
35. Food							1			1		1				1		
36. Meals							1			1	1	1	1					
37. Table Setting							1				1			1				
38. Table Seating								1										
39. Manners																		1
40. Etiquette																		
41. Drink																		
42. Forms of Address	2	2	2	2	3	1	2	2	5	2	3	1	1	1		2	1	1
43. The House							1			1							1	
44. Cleanliness																		
45. Housekeeping																		
46. Clothes																		
47. Gestures		1				2			1									
48. Space																		
49. Time				1														
50. Color															1			
greeting	1			3			2				2		2				1	
introduction	1	1		2			1	1	1	1	1	1	3			1	1	1

as measurements, temperature, nicknames, space and clothes which could be easily incorporated into daily conversation or information about daily living.

Every series includes music in every text, famous places, sports, letters, forms of address, greetings, and introductions in at least one text. Five series included literature. Four include states, education, TV and movies, holidays, shopping, and telephone.

All textbooks tend to include certain items such as literature, music and sports. Literature is usually poetry or a story retold in easy English. Music usually appears in appendices. The instances of sports are usually football, baseball or basketball played by Americans. For communication purposes, letters, greetings, and introductions are included, but the telephone is included in only five out of eighteen textbooks and some students don't learn how to talk on the phone.

The most commonly used famous places were New York and San Francisco. The textbooks do not use suburbs of medium size cities, which are probably a typical American residential area.

It is said that Culture with a big C is often taught but culture with a small c is not. However, according to these results, Culture with a big C is not necessarily included much, except for some literature and music.

If teachers exploit these American culture items and expand on them in the lesson, students will learn something about American culture. In general, if teachers do not develop the topic in class, students' knowledge will be very limited. Many of the items that were counted were only mentioned briefly in passing, so without additional explanation by the teacher, they cannot be understood well and may not even be noticed by students. Also, such items as music are included mainly in the appendices, which in many cases are not taught in class. Since each series of textbooks includes only 13-20 items out of the 52 items, these textbooks do not introduce enough American culture for good communication with Americans, visiting the United States or living there without much trouble.

Conclusion

These surveys indicate that not much is taught about American culture in English courses in Japan on the junior high or high school level. Surveys from the mid-1970's show that this is a long-standing situation. Though aspects of American culture are mentioned in passing, they must be explained by the teachers in order for students to benefit from them, or students will not be likely to understand them fully. However, in spite of this problem, there appears to have been an increase in the presentation of aspects of American culture over the past decade.

One important trend in English textbooks in Japan is that they are now presenting the cultures of various countries. While this helps make students aware of various cultures, it does not prepare them to communicate with the members of a particular culture.

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NOTES

1. This table was made by this writer and its contents were translated from Hatori (1975).

2. English A is for students in a vocational program, English B is for students in a liberal arts program, and *shokyū eigo* [elementary English] is for students who have not studied English in junior high school.

3. Covert culture is culture "which is not visible and presents difficulties even to the trained observer" (Hall, 1959: 60).

4. According to Allen and Valette (1972: 245), Culture with a big C is "achievements and contributions to civilization, art, music, literature, architecture, technology, scientific discoveries, and politics," and culture with a small c, "the behavioral patterns or life styles of the people: when and what they eat, how they make a living, the way they organize their society, the attitude they express toward friends and members of their families, how they act in different situations, which expressions they use to show approval and disapproval, the traditions they must observe and so on."

5. In this study, I have referred to many selections of Japanese literature. All translations in this study were done by me, referring to Masuda (1974). In order to keep as close as possible to the original idea in English, I translated each selections as directly as possible. For the convenience of the readers, the writer has translated all titles of Japanese books, articles, and periodicals unless they were given English titles by their authors or editors.

   In the description of Japanese words, I referred to the method adopted for Masuda (1974) and tried to transcribe them as closely as possible into English pronunciation. Borrowed words from English were given English spelling even in Japanese to avoid confusion. Japanese words are italicized and translations bracketed for clarification.

AWARENESS OF AMERICAN CULTURE: A SURVEY OF JAPANESE COLLEGE STUDENTS IN THE U.S.

Kenji Kitao

Abstract

A questionnaire was completed by Japanese students at a large Midwestern university in 1976, to determine their perception of cross-cultural understanding between Japanese and Americans at the university. The students judged Americans' knowledge of Japanese culture to be meager, but were in general confident in their own grasp of American culture. This knowledge of the American way of life was not attributed to secondary school programs in Japan, which were perceived to be weak in the area of cross-cultural training. Limited English-speaking ability was identified as the most important but not the only factor in the communication barrier between Japanese and Americans. Although the students tended to minimize their adjustment problems, they may have been overestimating the degree to which they had successfully adjusted. The overall results of the survey indicate an awareness of cultural differences and a confidence that these are being coped with, notwithstanding an apparent lack of sufficient academic preparation to justify this confidence.

Introduction

The cultural aspects of the English language have become increasingly important to Japan because of the increasingly strong diplomatic, economic,[1] academic,[2] and cultural relations with the United States since World War II. They have been particularly important since the late 1960's. More Japanese encounter more American people,[3] products, information, and culture on a daily basis than in the past. As such encounters increase, the potential for misunderstandings and miscommunication increases. These arise not only because of language barriers but also because of cultural barriers.

The purpose of this study was to find out what is taught about American culture in English classes, how well it is taught, how much Japanese college students in the United States feel that they know about American culture, and what cultural problems they encounter when they go to the United States.

In the English teaching profession in Japan, American culture has been emphasized because of the stress on communication (Kunihiro and Suzuki, 1971). However, it was taught neither extensively nor well (Kitao, 1976). There are few studies on the teaching of culture; no books or articles on what to teach about American culture or on how to teach it were found.[4]

A few studies on the teaching of American culture to Japanese people have been done in the United States. Taba (1972) and Yamazaki (1972) emphasized the importance of teaching culture in language classes and showed how to teach some topics in American culture. However, their work is not based on research about what areas Japanese people in the United States have difficulty with. Bontrager (1973), in contrast, interviewed three Japanese students, but since his sample was small, it is not clear how widely the results can be generalized. Okada and Okada (1973) do not show what research their book is based on, and no statistical data is provided, so there is no way of knowing which of the areas that they deal with are difficult for Japanese people. Also, the scope of their book is narrow in that it emphasizes information of use to businesspeople. Thus, no study based on research on teaching American culture to Japanese people has been made abroad.

Methods

This study was conducted at a large Midwestern university in late March and early April, 1976. The purpose of the survey was to find out how well Japanese college students felt that they understood American culture, how well they felt Americans understood them, and how they felt that the two cultures were different from each other.

Participants

I distributed a questionnaire to forty Japanese university students. Participants included 29 males and 11 females. They were undergraduates, graduate students, students at the Intensive English Center, and special students. The length of time they had been in the United States ranged from less than a year to more than four years. (More details are given about the participants in the Results and Discussion section under General Information.)

Instrument

The questionnaire was formulated in Japanese so the Japanese students would be able to clearly understand the questions and express their responses well. It consisted of seven sections: I. General information, II. To what degree the Japanese students felt that Americans understood Japan and her people, III. To what degree the Japanese students felt that they understood the United States and her people, IV. How much American culture is taught in English classes in Japan, V. Intercultural communication, VI. Culture shock, and VII. Cultural differences. Each section had several questions. The numbers of the questions are given later for the convenience of explanation.

This questionnaire included two types of questions: multiple-choice questions and open-ended questions. The purpose of the multiple-choice questions was to obtain statistical data for analysis. The open-ended questions provided students with opportunities to write whatever they thought and to reveal their own ideas and give examples.

Results and Discussion

I. General Information

Of the 40 students, 11 were females and 29 males. Respondents included 14 graduate students, 11 undergraduates, 11 Intensive English Center students, and 4 special students. One student was younger than 20 years old, twenty were between 20 and 25, fourteen between 26 and 30, and five over 30 years old. Only eighteen students (45%) had been in the United States for longer than 1 year, and the rest (twenty-two students [55%]), for less than one year. For the convenience of explanation, I call the former eighteen students "long-term students" and the latter twenty-two, "short-term students."

II. To What Degree the Japanese Students Felt that Americans Understood Japan and her People

The results of the multiple-choice questions from sections II to VII are shown in the table. The question numbers are listed on the vertical axis in the same order as on the questionnaires. The results are shown on the horizontal axis: 5 is "definitely yes;" 4, "yes;" 3, "neutral;" 2, "no;" and 1, "definitely no." The number of students who selected each option is given in the appropriate space. The number of students who answered any particular question is listed under "Number of Answers." The "Total Score" of each item is the sum of the products of the number of respondents who selected each option and the score points of that option. The "Mean Score" is the total score divided by the number of answers. The standard deviation is also shown. The standard deviation shows how homogeneous the answers are. The lower the standard deviation is, the more homogenous the answers are.

No. 21 shows that the students did not think that Americans knew Japan well. Thirty-two students (80%) answered in the negative. The mean score was low (1.80), and the answers were homogeneous.

No. 22 shows that the students did not think that Americans knew the Japanese people well, because none of the responses was positive, and 31 (78%) were negative. The mean score was low (1.88). The standard

TABLE
RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Question Numbers

I. General Information

11.	Male	Female	Total Students
	29	11	40

12.	Graduate	Undergraduate	I.E.C.	Special	Total
	14	11	11	4	40

13.	Younger than 20	20-25	26-30	Over 30
	1	20	14	5

14.	Less than 1 year	1-2 years	2-3 years	4 years
	22	9	8	1

	* 5	4	3	2	1	No. of Answers	Total Score	Mean Score	S.D.
II. To what degree the Japanese students felt that Americans understand Japan and her people									
21	0	1	7	15	17	40	72	1.80	0.82
22	0	0	9	17	14	40	75	1.88	0.76
23	1	3	8	14	14	40	83	2.08	1.05
24	1	4	11	15	9	40	93	2.33	1.02
25	0	4	15	15	6	40	97	2.43	0.87
III. To what degree the Japanese students felt that they understand the United States and her people									
31	2	11	11	9	7	40	112	2.80	1.18
32	2	7	15	13	3	40	112	2.80	0.99
34		Yes (36)				No (4)			
35	7	9	8	9	3	36	116	3.22	1.27
36	2	10	18	5	1	36	115	3.19	0.86

TABLE (con't)

Question Numbers	* 5	4	3	2	1	No. of Answers	Total Score	Mean Score	S.D.
IV. How much American culture is taught in English classes in Japan									
41	0	2	3	19	16	40	71	1.78	0.89
42	1	3	7	15	14	40	82	2.05	1.04
43	0	5	2	15	12	34	68	2.00	1.02
44	0	2	5	14	19	40	70	1.75	0.87
45	1	1	9	11	18	40	76	1.90	1.01
46	0	2	5	8	19	34	58	1.71	0.94
47	0	1	5	15	19	40	68	1.70	0.79
48	1	0	8	13	18	40	73	1.83	0.93
49	0	1	5	11	17	34	58	1.71	0.82
V. Intercultural Communication									
51	27	7	2	1	3	40	174	4.35	1.19
52	4	8	9	13	6	40	111	2.78	1.23
54	7	12	8	9	4	40	129	3.23	1.27
55	7	6	10	8	9	40	114	2.85	1.41
56	8	6	10	11	5	40	121	3.03	1.33
57	12	5	3	2	18	40	111	2.78	1.79
VI. Culture Shock									
61	3	4	9	12	12	40	94	2.35	1.23
62	0	8	9	12	11	40	94	2.35	1.10
63	1	9	8	13	9	40	100	2.50	1.15
VII. Cultural Differences									
71	0	6	9	7	14	36	79	2.19	1.14
72	2	4	8	12	10	36	84	2.33	1.17
73	0	5	8	9	18	40	80	2.00	1.09
74	3	3	10	10	14	40	91	2.28	1.24

*5—Definitely Yes 4—Yes 3—Neutral 2—No 1—Definitely No deviation showed that the answers to this question were homogeneous.

No. 23 shows that the students did not think that the American way of thinking was the same as the Japanese way. No. 24 shows that the students did not think that Americans have the same value system as the Japanese. The former item, with a mean score of 2.08, was answered more negatively than the latter, with a mean score of 2.33. The students picked the following as examples of areas in which Japanese and American concepts differ: individualism, privacy, beauty, independence, rationalism, human relations, freedom, sense of economy, and attitudes toward learning and working.

No. 25 shows that students did not think that Americans understood what they said very well. The mean score was 2.43, the highest in this section. There were four students who answered "yes," and two out of the four were short-term students. One third of the students who answered in the negative were long-term students. That means that even those students who had stayed in the United States for a long time thought that Americans did not understand what they said well.

In No. 30, which asks what Americans know least about the Japanese people, the students answered: thought, culture, feelings, way of thinking, daily life, value system, and typical Japanese ideas such as *wabi* (quiet taste) and *sabi* (antique look).

III. To What Degree the Japanese Students Felt that they Understood the United States and her People

The purpose of this section was to find out how well the students felt that they knew the United States and her people before coming to the United States.

No. 31 shows that the students varied widely on their opinions on the question of whether the image they had had of the United States when they were in Japan was inaccurate. The answers were not homogeneous; there were 13 positives and 16 negatives. The inaccuracies of their earlier image of the United States that they listed were: frugality, the definite necessity of cars, social classes, racial discrimination, cultural life, rationalism, rural residence of many Americans, and the high standard of living.

The results for No. 32 were similar to those of the previous question. The students did not think that they could know the "real" United States through books, TV, or movies, but their answers were only slightly negative. The answers were not homogenous, and 15 were neutral.

The students found, after they had come to the United States, that the most important cultural differences were: independence, rationalism, individualism, individual possibilities, freedom, equal relations among individuals, differences of race and ethnic background, differences of size and quantity (land, buildings, food, cars, etc.), extremism of Americans in many fields, more frequent and more direct expression of emotions, indifference toward others, and tendency not to decline another person's offers.

Ninety percent of the students (36) had visited American homes (No. 34). Among the four students who had not visited American homes, two had been in the United States for only two months, and another for seven months. Only 36 students answered No. 35, No. 36, No. 71, and No. 72, all of which were concerned with American families.

No. 35 indicates that a slight majority of the students found that real American family life was the same as what they had thought. Since the standard deviation was 1.27, the answers were not homogeneous. The students pointed out frugality, high divorce rate, rationalism, the life of old people, individualism, relations between parents and children, and economic life as examples of area of differences between real American family life and the images of American family life that they had had in Japan. No. 36, which asks whether real family life was the same as what the students had known through books, TV and movies, shows results similar to No. 35. Just over half of the students thought that real American family life was the same as what they had understood it to be through such media.

In summary, the answers to this section indicated these Japanese students varied in their perceptions of the accuracy of their set of ideas about the actual United States and her people and whether it had been possible for them to come to know about the country through books, TV, and movies. Since the answers were heterogeneous, one can conclude that their ideas of the real United States and her people were, in part, accurate and that these ideas could be acquired through books, TV and movies but that they did not actually give a wholly accurate and complete picture of the United States and her people. They found that American family life was rather rural, frugal, and rational. They found many divorces and discovered the way of life of old people, individualism, and relations between children and parents to be different from what they had believed.

IV. How much American Culture is Taught in English Classes in Japan

The purpose of this section was to find out how much these students had learned about American culture in general, about family life, and about school life in junior high school, senior high school, and college English courses. Since six students had not gone to college in Japan, they did not answer the questions on the college level. Consequently, No. 43, No. 46, and No. 49 have only 34 answers.

As shown in No. 41, No. 42, and No. 43, which ask whether the students learned much about American culture in junior high school, senior high school, and college, respectively, the students answered that they had not learned much about American culture at any level. Sixteen (40%), 14 (35%), and 12 (35%) students answered "definitely no" on the junior high, senior high, and college levels, respectively, and 35 (88%), 29 (73%), and 27 (79%) students gave negative answers. The mean scores were very low at all levels (1.78, 2.05, and 2.00).

No. 44, No. 45, and No. 46, which ask whether students learned much about American family life in junior high school, senior high school and college English courses, respectively, also show that the students agreed that they had not learned much about American family life at any of the three educational levels. There were 33 (83%), 29 (73%), and 27 (79%) students who answered negatively on the junior high, senior high, and college levels, respectively. The mean scores were very low (1.75, 1.90, and 1.71). The junior high school level had the most homogeneous answers.

No. 47, No. 48, and No. 49, which ask whether students learned much about American school life in junior high school, senior high school and college English courses, respectively, show that the students felt that they had not learned much about American school life on any level. There were 34 (85%), 31 (78%), and 28 (82%) students on the negative side in the junior high school, senior high school, and college levels, respectively. The mean scores were also very low (1.70, 1.83, and 1.71). The junior high school level again had the most homogeneous answers.

To sum up this section, most students did not think they had learned much about American culture in general and American family life and school life in particular in their junior and senior high schools and colleges. Most mean scores were below 2.00; that is, the students showed strongly negative opinions. Generally speaking, American culture is taught least in junior high schools and most in senior high schools. However, the answers for senior high schools were most heterogeneous. Therefore, American culture may be taught in some senior high school English classes.

V. Intercultural Communication

The purpose of this section was to explore how well Japanese students can communicate and mingle with Americans and how cultural differences prevent them from interacting well with Americans.

Most of the students definitely wished their English proficiency had been a little higher (No. 51), as there were 27 students (68%) in Category 5. Thirty-four (85%) answered positively, and only 4 (10%) negatively. Therefore, the mean score was 4.35 in No. 51.

Looking at long- and short-term students separately, the distribution of long-term students was eight in 5, six in 4, one in 3, zero in 2, and three in 1, while the distribution of the short-term students was nineteen in 5, one in 4, one in 3, one in 2, and none in 1. The mean score was 3.89 for the long-term group and 4.73 for the short term group. While the difference between the long- and short-term groups was significant at the .05 level (t = 2.15), the mean of the long-term group was still fairly high, with only four students out of 18 who were satisfied with their English proficiency. This indicates that even long-term students desired higher English proficiency.

No. 52 shows that 19 students (48%) did not think that the cause of misunderstandings was due only to low English proficiency. However, 12 (30%) did think so. The mean score was 2.78 and slightly negative.

Interestingly, the distribution of long-term students was zero in 5, one in 4, six in 3, eight in 2, and three in 1, and hence very negatively skewed. The distribution of the short-term students was four in 5, seven in 4, three in 3, five in 2, and three in 1. The mean score was 2.28 for long-term students and 3.18 for short-term students. The differences in the means was significant at the .05 level higher (t = 2.50), indicating that long-term students were more likely to recognize that factors other than language proficiency contribute to misunderstandings.

No. 54 shows that 19 students (48%) thought that they were isolated from Americans even when they were with them. The mean score was slightly positive, 3.23, that is, indicating a feeling of isolation. The distribution of long-term students in No. 54 was four students in 5, four in 4, six in 3, three in 2, and one in 1, and the short-term students, three in 5, eight in 4, two in 3, six in 2, and three in 1. The mean score was 3.39 for the long-term students and 3.09 for the short-term students. The means were not significantly different (t = .83). This indicates that even those students who had been in the United States longer felt isolated.

No. 55 was answered somewhat negatively. Thirteen students found it difficult to mingle with Americans. The mean score was 2.85, and the standard deviation was 1.41, indicating that the answers were very heterogeneous.

The frequency distribution of the long-term students in No. 55 was three students in 5, two in 4, five in 3, five in 2, and three in 1. The distribution of the short-term students was four in 5, four in 4, five in 3, three in 2, and six in 1. The mean score was for long-term students was 2.83 and 2.86 for short-term students. The means were not significantly different (t = .07). This indicates that, in general, long-term students had almost the same degree of difficulty in mingling with Americans as short-term students.

The reasons that it was difficult to mingle with Americans, according to the students who gave positive answers, were the following: low English proficiency, conservativeness, rationalism, individualism, and differences in customs, human relations, cultures, ways of thinking, value systems, views of life, and interests.

No. 56 indicated that some students had American friends and some did not. The frequency distribution of long-term students was very similar to that of the whole group. Therefore, a long stay in the United States does not necessarily guarantee that students will make friends.

For No. 57, the scores were extreme—12 (30%) fell into Category 5, and 18 (45%) fell into 1. The mean score was slightly negative (2.78). The standard deviation was 1.79, the largest in the results of this questionnaire. The frequency distribution of long-term students in No. 57 was seven students in 5, two in 4, two in 3, one in 2, and six in 1. The frequency distribution of the short-term students was five in 5, three in 4, one in 3, one in 2, and twelve in 1. The mean scores were 3.17 for the long-term group and 2.45 for the short-term group, and there was no significant difference (t = 1.26). This indicates that length of stay in the United States does not necessarily lead to having American friends with whom one can talk over personal things. The fact that students tended to be at the extreme ends of the scale suggests that factors other than length of time in the United States, such as personality differences, may influence the likelihood of making close friends.

In summary, almost all the students wished that their English proficiency had been a little bit higher. Long-term students desired higher English proficiency, but not as much, on average, as short-term students.

The latter group was more inclined to think that English was the only cause of misunderstandings than the former was; the longer they stayed, the more common it was to find causes for misunderstandings other than simply English. The long-term students felt more strongly that they were isolated from Americans. Therefore, knowledge of English alone cannot be the only means of getting along well with Americans. A longer stay in the United States does not necessarily make it easy to mingle with Americans or to make friends. Besides English, the reasons for difficulties in mingling with Americans are rationalism, individualism, conservativeness, human relations, and differences in customs, ways of thinking, value systems, views of life, and interests.

The English language was not the only problem in intercultural communication between American and Japanese people. Students have to overcome cultural barriers to establish good intercultural communication.

VI. Culture Shock

The purpose of this section was to discover how well the Japanese students had adjusted to the United States.

No. 61 shows that most of the students (60%) had not had trouble adjusting; however, although the mean score was 2.35, the answers were not homogeneous.

Nos. 62 and 63 show that the students had not had trouble even though they were not familiar with American etiquette. However, the answers were not homogeneous for either item. The difficulties with American etiquette that were reported were primarily concerned with table manners, formalities toward women, when to say "excuse me," how to say "no" with a smile, and conversational manners.

This section revealed that most Japanese students had only a little trouble adjusting to the United States although about 20% had major problems. Also, it is possible that the students did not have much insight into the problems that they had had. For example, concerning etiquette less than 25% of the students said that they had had trouble, but this figure seems too low from my observation. Their main difficulties were with table manners, manners with women, and manners in conversation.

VII. Cultural Differences

The purpose of this section was to determine students' perceptions of the differences between American and Japanese cultures, particularly family life and school life. Only the 36 students who had visited American homes answered No. 71 and No. 72.

No. 71 indicates that most of the students did not think that American family life was the same as that in Japan. Here, 21 students (58%) gave negative answers, and among them, 14 answered "definitely no." The mean score on this question was negative (2.19).

The differences in family life were the following: the wife's position, relationships between children and parents, equal relationships among family members, independence of children, meals, household conveniences, ease of becoming involved, education of children at home, discussions between parents and children, sharing of jobs, and leisure.

No. 72 shows that most of the students did not think that American relationships among family members were the same as Japanese, as 22 (61%) were negative in their answers while only 6 (16%) were positive. The mean was low (2.33). The differences they found were in the position of wives, the independence of children, close relationships between fathers and children, relationships between parents and children, particularly where money is concerned, and relationships with grandparents.

No. 73 and No. 74 show that the students did not think that American school life and classes were the same as those in Japan. In the former question concerning school life, no one answered "definitely yes" and 27 (68%) were negative. The mean score was low (2.00). In the latter question concerning classes, 24 (60%) were negative and 6 (15%) were positive. The mean score was also low (2.28). However, answers for both were heterogeneous. The differences in school life that were cited included dormitory life, differences in the ages of students, the complexity of school systems, the wide scope of courses, practicality of classes, freedom of students, severity of competition, amount of homework, concentration of work, and more social activities.

The differences in classes that students cited were the following: amount of study, number of papers and examinations, number of assignments, size of classes, practicality of classes, amount of discussion, number of questions from students, frankness and friendliness of teachers, kindness of teachers, number of argumentative students, frequency of interactions between teacher and students, and importance of language.

To sum up this section, the students found that American family life and school life were different from that in Japan. There were many differences between the two cultures; but, on the whole, the most important differences were found in No. 75, dealing with such matters as individualism, rationalism, materialism, privacy, the principle of give-and-take, mobility, logic, relaxed life, fashion, life with cars, quality of meals, poverty, financial situation of students, necessity for psychiatrists, standard of living, different foods, and overconfidence. The results of the survey show that there is an inadequate foundation for good understanding and communication between Americans and the Japanese. The Japanese students had been taught very little about American culture in English courses of any level, so their understanding of American culture was quite limited. As a result, they had some problems understanding Americans and communicating with them. This study indicates that American culture particularly culture with a small c,[5] should be more emphasized in English courses at all levels.

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APPENDIX

A Survey of the Teaching of American Culture

Name ______________________________
Last First

11. Sex: Male Female
12. Occupation: 1. Graduate 2. Undergraduate 3. Intensive English Center (I.E.C.) 4. Special
13. Age: Younger than 20 20-24 25-29 Above 30
14. How long have you been in the United States in total?
______months

If the answer is definitely "yes," circle 5, if it is definitely "no," circle 1. If the answer is "yes," circle 4 and in "no," circle 2. Number 3 is neutral.

Yes No
21. Do you think that Americans know Japan well? 5 4 3 2 1
22. Do you think that Americans know the Japanese people well? 5 4 3 2 1
23. Do you think that the American way of thinking is the same as the Japanese way? 5 4 3 2 1
24. Do you think that Americans have the same value system as the Japanese? 5 4 3 2 1
If no, give some examples.
25. Do you think that Americans understand what you say well? 5 4 3 2 1
30. What do Americans understand least about the Japanese people?
31. Do you think that the image of the United States you had in Japan was accurate? 5 4 3 2 1
If no, please give some examples.
32. Do you think that you knew the real United States through books, TV, and movies in Japan? 5 4 3 2 1
33. What was the most important cultural difference that you found in the United States?
34. Have you ever visited an American family?

Yes No

35. Is real American family life the same as you thought it was in Japan? 5 4 3 2 1
If no, give some examples.

36. Is real American family life the same as what you knew through books, TV, and movies in Japan? 5 4 3 2 1
If no, please give some examples.

41. Did you learn much about American culture in English classes in junior high school? 5 4 3 2 1

42. Did you learn much about American culture in English classes in senior high school? 5 4 3 2 1

43. Did you learn much about American culture in English classes in college? 5 4 3 2 1

44. Did you learn much about American family life in English classes in junior high school? 5 4 3 2 1

45. Did you learn much about American family life in English classes in senior high school? 5 4 3 2 1

46. Did you learn much about American family life in English classes in college? 5 4 3 2 1

47. Did you learn much about American school life in English classes in junior high school? 5 4 3 2 1

48. Did you learn much about American school life in English classes in senior high school? 5 4 3 2 1

49. Did you learn much about American school life in English classes in college? 5 4 3 2 1

50. Do you wish that your English proficiency were a little bit higher? 5 4 3 2 1

51. When misunderstandings happen between you and Americans, do you think that the only cause is low English proficiency? 5 4 3 2 1

54. Do you sometimes think that you are isolated from others when you are with Americans? 5 4 3 2 1

55. Do you think that it is difficult to mingle with Americans? 5 4 3 2 1
If yes, please give some examples.

56. Do you have many American friends? 5 4 3 2 1

Yes No

57. Do you have any American friends with whom you can talk about personal things? 5 4 3 2 1

61. Did you have trouble adjusting to the United States? 5 4 3 2 1

62. Have you ever had trouble because you did not know American etiquette? 5 4 3 2 1
    If yes, please give some examples.

63. Have you had any trouble because of the differences in etiquette? 5 4 3 2 1
    If yes, please give some examples.

71. Is American family life the same as Japanese family life? 5 4 3 2 1
    If no, please give some examples.

73. Is American school life the same as that in Japan? 5 4 3 2 1
    If no, please give some examples.

74. Are American classes the same as Japanese ones? 5 4 3 2 1
    If no, please give some examples.

75. Can you think of any important differences that you have found between the two cultures, other than the ones you already mentioned in this survey?

NOTES

1. According to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (1977), Japan exported $66,018 million worth of products and imported $56,088 million worth of products in 1976. Of that, she exported $15,088 million worth of products to the United States and imported $10,061 million worth of products from the United States.

2. According to the Institute of International Education (1974-1975), 4,745 Japanese students studied in American colleges. Since this figure does not include high school students, professional school students and students in training programs, the real number of Japanese students in the United States can be assumed to be above 7,000. According to the Immigration

Bureau, Ministry of Justice (1977), 8,963 Japanese people left for the United States for academic research or investigation, study or training in 1976.

3. According to the Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice (1977), 20,011 Japanese people visited foreign countries in 1952; 57,519 in 1957; 143,934 in 1961; 212,409 in 1966; 961,135 in 1971; and 2,852,584 in 1976. Of these, 32.1% went to the United States. The rate of increase is very high.

4. I have reviewed titles of articles and books in Torii, Egusa, and Sasaki (1975). I have also reviewed all articles in *Eigo Kyōiku* and *Gendai Eigo Kyōiku* since then.

5. According to Allen and Valette (1972: 245), culture with a small c is "the behavioral patterns or life styles of the people: when and what they eat, how they make a living, the way they organize their society, the attitude they express toward friends and members of their families, how they act in different situations, which expressions they use to show approval and disapproval, the traditions they must observe and so on."

AN EVALUATION OF ENGLISH TEACHING IN JAPAN: A SURVEY OF JAPANESE HIGH SCHOOL EXCHANGE STUDENTS

Kenji Kitao

Abstract

Several surveys were made of Japanese teen-agers who were exchange students in the United States. The results of three of the questionnaires are analyzed to get an idea of the problems the students had with English and the state of English teaching in Japan. Thirty-one male and female high school students were involved in the study. The first questionnaire, given one month after their arrival in the U.S., dealt with the students' previous experiences in studying English. The second, administered 7 months after their arrival in the U.S., was intended to find aspects of American culture with which they were not familiar and the kinds of cultural problems that they were encountering. The third one was administered after their return to Japan. The following results are noted: (1) English education in schools in Japan emphasized knowledge about English, not performance; (2) there is not sufficient emphasis on the practice of listening and speaking skills; (3) instruction is not geared toward communication with English-speaking people; and (4) little about American culture is taught in English classes in Japan, all of which prevent Japanese from communicating adequately with Americans. The questionnaires are appended.

Introduction

Studying English abroad is becoming more popular year after year, and more Japanese are going to the United States in order to learn

English and study American culture.[1] There are a great number of English programs abroad for these people, many of them for teen-agers.[2] Such programs have been drawing much attention in Japan recently.[3]

However, it is not known how well teen-age students in these programs understand English, Americans, or the American culture. Though the sponsoring organizations send reports to their students, returnees, and their families, these are not published in academic reports, even though such reports would be useful as resource materials for improving English teaching in Japan.

Methods

I was involved in teen-age exchange student programs for two and a half years, starting in 1975. During this period, I conducted various surveys with the cooperation of many volunteers in both Japan and the United States, using students who had stayed in the United States for two months in the summer or for one academic year. The purpose of these surveys was to determine how well the programs were being administered and their strengths and weaknesses, in order to improve the programs.

Instrument

The students were asked questions regarding English teaching, their English proficiency, and their problems with English. The surveys were administered through examinations (Kitao, 1979b), questionnaires, interviews and reports (Kitao, 1976; Kitao, 1977), both in Japan and in the United States, as well as through telephone interviews in the United States. Except for examinations, all information was gathered in Japanese.

Using the first, third, and fourth questionnaires, I limited this paper to a discussion of the problems the students had with English and an outline of their experiences with English teaching in Japan.

Participants

Participants in these programs are described in Table 1.

TABLE 1
PARTICIPANTS

Programs	Male	Female	Total
1st Summer	0	1	1
1st Academic Year	6	6	12
2nd Summer	3	4	7
2nd Academic Year	4	7	11
Total	13	18	31

There are different types of teen-age exchange student programs. In some of them, the students live with American families. Students who stay in the United States for one academic year often go to a local high school.

As previously mentioned, I dealt with both short- and long-term programs. The short-term students stayed in the United States for two months, July and August. The long-term students normally arrived in August and stayed until the following June.

Results and Discussion

Questionnaire No. 1

The first questionnaire, which is given in Appendix A, was on the students' previous experiences in studying English and what problems they were having with English. Except for the one student in the first summer program, the questionnaire was given one month after the students' arrival in the United States, with twenty-eight students responding. The results are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE No. 1

Question Numbers							
2	Male		Female		Total Students		
	11		17		28		
3	15	16	17	18	19	20	years old
	1	11	9	4	2	1	
4	1	2	3	4	times in U.S.		
	23	4	1	0			
5	3	4	5	6	7	years spent studying English	
	1	10	10	4	3		
6							
	junior high	28	language school	8			
	senior high	28	English-speaking club	7			
	radio	24	college	5			
	TV	17	tutor	2			
	records and tapes	12	movies	1			
	English speakers	10	preparatory school	0			
7		1	2	3	total	%	
	radio	8	6	1	15	62.5	
	TV	4	3	5	12	70.6	
	junior high	4	3	2	9	32.1	
	language school	3	3	1	7	87.5	
	senior high	3	4	5	12	42.9	
	movies	1	0	0	1	100.0	
	tutor	1	1	0	2	100.0	
	English speakers	1	4	3	8	80.0	
	records and tapes	0	2	5	7	58.3	
	college	0	0	1	1	20.0	
	Total	25	26	23	74		

TABLE 2 (con't)

Question Numbers		1	2	3	total	%
8	senior high	8	0	2	10	35.7
	junior high	4	3	1	8	28.6
	movies	1	0	0	1	100.0
	language school	1	1	0	2	25.0
	TV	1	0	2	3	17.6
	tutor	0	2	0	2	100.0
	records and tapes	0	2	1	3	25.0
	radio	0	2	1	3	12.5
	English speakers	0	1	2	3	30.0
	books	0	1	0	1	100.0
	Total	15	12	9	36	

9. Yes 16 No 12

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	more than 10
3	2	1	1	4					3

		7	6	5	4	3	2	1	No. of Answers	Total Score	Mean Score	S.D.
10			0	2	3	7	11	5	28	70	2.50	1.14
11			0	3	6	13	6	0	28	90	3.21	0.92
12			4	8	7	7	2	0	28	117	4.18	1.19
13			1	5	5	7	4	0	22	80	3.64	1.15
14			2	6	2	7	3	2	22	79	3.59	1.47
15	a				5	3	7	13	28	56	2.00	1.15
	b				4	6	10	8	28	62	2.21	1.03
	c				5	11	8	4	28	73	2.61	0.96
	d				14	8	3	3	28	89	3.18	1.02
16	a	13	3	5	3	1	0	1	26	150	5.77	1.58
	b	1	0	2	2	1	6	9	21	49	2.33	1.71
	c	2	6	5	6	2	4	1	26	114	4.38	1.67
	d	1	3	4	3	3	8	4	26	86	3.31	1.83
	e	0	0	3	1	8	4	9	25	60	2.40	1.35
	f	2	3	1	10	7	1	1	25	101	4.04	1.45
	g	2	6	4	1	4	3	1	21	93	4.43	1.83

TABLE 2 (con't)

Question Numbers					
17	junior high		senior high		
	7		18		
18	junior high		senior high		college
	15		12		1
19	1	2	3	4	levels
		10	4	2	

(The percentages in Questions 7 and 8 are the percent of the total number of students who indicated they had studied English through this method, and who put the method as one of the three "useful" methods.)

Participants. According to the responses to Question 2, 11 of the respondents were boys and 17 were girls. The ages shown in Question 3 were as of April 1 in the year when they responded. The seven students who were eighteen years old or older had graduated from senior high school. Two eighteen-year-old girls participated in the first academic year program; the other five boys and girls, in the second summer program.

Interest in the United States. The students were very much interested in the United States. Five of them, as indicated in their responses to Question 4, had previously been to the United States; 16 of them had had American or English friends while in Japan, according to their responses to Question 9.

English language study. As is true of almost all Japanese students, all the students had started English lessons when they entered junior high school (Question 5). Many of them, however, had studied English through various methods in addition to their junior and senior high school lessons, as the responses to Question 6 indicate. Twenty-four students had studied English through radio lessons, 17 through lessons on TV, 12 with records or tapes, 10 with native speakers of English, 8 at commercial language schools, and 7 in English-speaking clubs. This indicates that many of them had studied oral English or English conversation, subjects which are not emphasized in junior and senior English classes. As a result, six students had passed the third level and ten students had passed the second level (for senior high school graduates) of the STEP Test *(Eigo Kentei Shiken* or *Eiken*) administered by The Society for Testing English Proficiency, as shown in the responses to Question 19. This test examines all aspects of English, including the oral aspects with which many Japanese students have difficulty.

As shown in the responses to Question 7, regarding which method of study was proving to be particularly useful in daily life in the United States, 7 of eight, or 88% of those who had studied at commercial English schools felt that such study was among the three most useful methods experienced. The way to read Table 2, Question 7, is as follows, using radio as an example: Of the 24 students who had indicated under Question 6 that they had used radio English programs, 8 felt it was the most useful of the methods they had experienced, 6 felt it was the second most useful method, and 1 felt it was the third most useful method. In other words, 15 students (or 62.5% of the 24 students who had used the method) believed it to be one of the three most useful means. As can be seen from the table for Question 7, 58% of those who had used records or tapes felt them to be one of the three most useful methods, but for junior and senior high schools the figures were only 32% and 43% respectively. This shows that English lessons emphasizing oral English were considered to be more useful for daily life in the United States than were lessons based on grammar and translation methods in junior and senior high schools. It is interesting to note that the students thought that the English lessons in senior high school were more useful than those in junior high school, even though it is at the junior high school level that the oral aspects of English receive greater emphasis.

For Question 18, however, the results were reversed. Fifteen students thought that junior high school had been more useful and relevant to daily life in the United States than senior high school had been. This makes drawing any firm conclusions difficult. Going up to the next level of education, college, it is also difficult to draw any definite conclusions, since only three of the students had any college experience; but of these three, only one indicated that college or university was the most useful.

The English instruction which the students had had in Japan was not considered very relevant to their high school classes in the United States; therefore very few students answered Question 8 at all. Only 36 answers were received here out of 66 potential answers (three possible choices multiplied by the 22 students who attended an American high school). Of the answers given, however, 36% of the students thought that senior high school had been among the three most useful methods and about 29% of them thought that junior high school had been so. None of the other methods received more than 2 or 3 responses. Please note that while about 62% of those who had used radio had marked it as useful for daily life in Question 7, only about 12% did so in Question 8, as being useful in study at school. Evidently, as far as study at an American high school is concerned, study methods which are based on grammar, reading, and translation seem to be more useful than are those which are based on oral English. This may be why a large majority selected senior high school in Question 17. It also most likely means that the junior high school level is too basic, while the senior high school level introduces more vocabulary and advanced levels of English which are much closer to the English experienced in the American high schools.

As shown in the responses to Question 10, 23 of the students had trouble with English conversation right after their arrival in the United States. No students indicated that they "never" had any trouble right after arrival. As the responses to Question 11 indicate, even a month later, at the time the questionnaire was administered, 19 out of 28 said that they had trouble with English conversation either "sometimes" or "often."

Only 22 respondents (the 21 who were in academic year programs and one who attended a high school summer session) answered Questions 13 and 14. For Question 13, whether they understood their classes well, half the responses were positive and half were negative, though none of the students indicated that they did not understand the classes at all.

While 10 of the 22 respondents were fairly confident about being able to compete with American students in their classes, the standard deviation for this answer was the largest for any of the questions, being 1.47. This indicates that students varied fairly widely in their confidence in their ability to compete with American students (Question 14).

Answers to Question 15 should be read as follows: For listening, line 15a, 13 of the 28 students felt it was the most difficult of the four skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing); 7 thought it was the second hardest; 3 thought it was the third most difficult; and only 5 thought it was the easiest of the skills. The average level of difficulty was therefore 2.00 (S.D. 1.15), making it overall the most difficult skill. Line 15d indicates that writing was felt to be the easiest. However, after having been in America for only one month, the students had not yet experienced much writing, so this may not be a true picture.

Of the seven items listed under Question 16, lectures, with an average score of 2.33, was considered the most difficult. It was followed by discussion (2.40), radio (3.31), newspapers (4.04), TV (4.38), reports and term papers (4.43), and lastly by daily conversation (5.77). It is interesting to note that in Question 15, the students considered daily conversation to be easiest, while they considered listening to lectures to be the most difficult.

Questionnaire No. 3

This questionnaire was given only to the 23 students in the one-year programs. It was administered seven months after their arrival. The purpose was to find those aspects of American culture with which they were still not familiar and to see what kinds of cultural problems they were encountering.

A similar questionnaire was given to 40 Japanese students at a large university in the Midwestern U.S. (Kitao, 1978). The results were, in general, very similar.

The only questions included are ones concerned with English teaching, shown in Appendix B. The results are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3
RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE No. 3

Question Numbers	5	4	3	2	1	No. of Answers	Total Score	Mean Score	S.D.
II. To what degree do Americans understand Japan and her people?									
25	6	8	6	3	0	23	86	3.74	1.01
IV. How much American culture is taught in English?									
41	0	0	1	10	12	23	35	1.52	0.59
42	0	1	4	10	8	23	44	1.91	0.85
44	0	0	2	6	15	23	33	1.43	0.66
45	0	2	2	8	11	23	41	1.78	0.95
47	0	0	2	7	14	23	34	1.47	0.66
48	0	2	2	7	12	23	40	1.74	0.96
V. Intercultural Communication									
51	13	4	3	0	3	23	93	4.04	1.40
52	1	2	9	4	7	23	55	2.39	1.16
53	6	11	2	2	2	23	86	3.74	1.21

Relations with Americans. The answers to Question 25 show that 14 replied "definitely yes" or "yes" on whether Americans understood what they said well. Only 3 answered negatively. This same question had been given to the 40 Japanese university students in the U.S.; only 4 of them were positive in their answers while 21 were negative. This is very different from the high school students' replies. Aside from the fact that the younger people may have had more confidence in themselves, they may also have found it easier to mingle with Americans and consequently could communicate better.

American culture. The responses to Questions 41 through 48 show that the high school students learned very little about American culture or American daily life or school life when in school in Japan. All the averages were 2.00 or below, meaning that they were very negative.

I have reviewed a number of high school English textbooks (Kitao, 1979a) and found that they included very little cultural information. Since these texts form the basis for English study in Japan, one is able to predict the above result.

English proficiency. The students admitted that their level of proficiency in English was not high enough. Seventeen of them had difficulties in classes because of their limited English (Question 53), but their desire for better proficiency were not as strong as those of the college students (Question 51). More than the college students, the high school students realized that the causes of misunderstandings were not only their difficulties with English (Question 52). The high school students, who were in closer contact with Americans than were the college students, realized that there were differences in means of communication and culture between Japan and the United States and they understood that there was something more important than simply language in achieving higher levels of communication.

Questionnaire No. 4

Questionnaire No. 4 was administered to the students from the previous study after they had returned to Japan. Responses were received from 24 of the students in the previous study: 1 from the first summer program, 8 from the first academic year program, 6 from the second summer program, and 9 from the second academic year program. The results are shown in Table 4.

The purpose of this questionnaire was to evaluate the two types of exchange programs. Two questionnaires were prepared: one for the students and one for the parents. Again, only those questions involving English are given in Appendix C.

Study of English. While the English instruction received before going to the United States might not have been considered adequate, 8 of the students strongly felt it was necessary (Question 1). These students had

TABLE 4
RESULTS OF QUESTIONNAIRE No. 4

Question Numbers	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	No. of Answers	Total Score	Mean Score
1			8	1	6	5	4	24	76	3.17
2			11	11	2	0	0	24	105	4.38
3			12	8	1	3	0	24	101	4.21
4 a			0	7	1	10	6	24	57	2.38
b			2	5	10	2	5	24	69	2.88
c			0	1	1	11	6	19	35	1.84
d			1	3	2	10	4	20	47	2.35
e			2	0	2	3	17	24	39	1.63
f			2	2	3	4	13	24	48	2.00
g			0	1	7	7	3	18	42	2.33
h			0	0	6	8	6	20	40	2.00
5 a	0	0	0	1	1	6	16	24	35	1.46
b	0	0	1	0	5	12	6	24	50	2.08
c	0	1	4	7	9	2	1	24	86	3.58
d	1	0	4	9	7	2	1	24	89	3.71
e	15	4	1	1	0	1	0	22	140	6.36
f	4	13	2	2	1	0	0	22	127	5.77
g	2	4	10	4	1	1	0	22	109	4.95
6			18	4	1	1	0	24	111	4.63
7			10	8	4	0	0	22	94	4.27
8			9	3	8	1	0	21	83	3.95
9			4	7	1	3	9	24	66	2.75
10			9	3	1	1	10	23	70	3.04
11			8	3	1	2	9	23	70	3.04

problems immediately upon their arrival in the United States, which is probably why they thought that such training was needed.

Areas of difficulty. When they departed from the United States, the students as a whole felt that they understood what Americans were saying rather well (Question 2). None answered "1" (totally negative), and the mean score of 4.38 was very high. They still thought that speaking was a little more difficult than listening. Three students answered in the negative; the average was 4.21 (Question 3). According to the responses to Question 4, the students were having little trouble with English. The average for the eight items in Question 4 was three or below each time. The most difficult item was newspapers (2.88), then radio and TV (2.38), telephone (2.35), reading texts for class (2.33), writing papers (2.00), discussion in class (2.00), daily conversation (1.84), and the easiest item was listening to lectures in the classroom (1.63). These responses are remarkably different from those given to Question 16 in the first questionnaire which asked a very similar question on or shortly after arrival in the United States.

Listening and speaking later became easier than reading and writing, in contrast with the order of difficulty on the students' arrival. Newspapers, TV, and radio were the most difficult, because they require a good grounding in basic knowledge. Listening was not very difficult any longer but communicating on the telephone, when the other party could not be seen, was still considered difficult. The difficulties, they felt, were not related to language skills alone, but also to the contents of the discussion. They could not achieve full communication through the use of language only.

The students' stay in the United States improved their English considerably. Listening improved the most (1.46), followed by speaking (2.08), reading (3.58), writing (3.71), vocabulary (4.95), and translation (5.77). Grammar improved least (6.36), according to the responses to Question 5. This order bears a strong correlation to the order of these aspects that most Japanese consider difficult. While they stayed in the United States their listening and speaking skills improved considerably, but their grammar, translation, and vocabulary did not improve as much. This can be interpreted as meaning that they felt their performance skills had improved by being in the United States, but that they had gained little as far as knowledge about English was concerned.

Effects of the stay in the United States. According to the responses to Question 6, their stay in the United States made them more interested in English. Only one person gave a negative response. This clearly shows that visiting an English-speaking country motivates students in learning English.

The stay in the United States helped the students in their English classes in Japanese senior high schools after they returned. No response was negative; the mean score was 4.27 (Question 7). They all understood their English classes very well. According to the answers to Question 8, they thought that their English classes had become more interesting following their return from the United States, but response for the radio (3.95) was lower than that of Question 7.

Maintaining English after returning to Japan. According to Question 9, after returning to Japan, their proficiency in English seems to have dropped. However, it did not decrease if they used English outside their high school English classes. In other words, the higher proficiency in English they had obtained while in the United States could not be maintained only through senior high school English classes, where oral English is not emphasized.

Eleven students kept studying English outside their school English classes, but 9 could or did not because of preparations for college entrance examinations. This resulted in a decline in English proficiency (Question 11).

Conclusion

Using three questionnaires, I have investigated what teenage exchange students thought about their English studies in relation to their experiences in the United States. More than facts, I have shown what they thought and felt. The sample was only 31 students which was rather small for this kind of survey; but, since I had close contact with all of them, I feel that the results are valid and that they show what English teaching in Japan is like from a new angle.

First, English education in schools in Japan emphasizes knowledge about English, and students do not learn much about actual performance. Therefore, what they learn is not very useful for the practical aspects of living in the United States. However, those students who had mastered the basics of English stated that this was more useful for class work in American high schools than were lessons which stressed oral English.

Second, Japanese students in Japan do not practice listening and speaking skills sufficiently. They must spend more time on these aspects of the English language.

Third, the study of English in Japan is not concerned with communicating with English-speaking people. Understanding English grammar and understanding something in English are different. Japanese students must learn ways to express themselves in English.

Fourth, little about American culture is taught in English classes in Japan, and this prevents Japanese from communicating adequately with Americans.

In summary, English education in Japan still emphasizes knowledge about English; English performance is almost completely ignored. English education must start emphasizing communication and stress not only the linguistic but also the cultural aspects of the language. The Japanese must also begin considering methods of English teaching which will help those who spend some time abroad to maintain their proficiency at a higher level.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE No. 1 (one month after the arrival)

1. Name: family first
2. Sex: male female
3. Age: years months
4. How many times have you been to the United States?
   (including this time) 1 2 3 4 times
5. How long have you studied English?
   years months
6. How and where did you study English in Japan?
   elementary school
   junior high school
   senior high school
   preparatory school
   university
   commercial English schools
   TV
   radio
   records (tapes)
   tutor
   English-speaking club
   American or English friends
   other ( )
7. Select three from the above list which are particularly useful for daily life, starting from the most useful.
   1 2 3

8. Select three from the above list which are particularly useful for your study at school, starting from the most useful.

1 2 3

9. Did you have any English-speaking friends while in Japan?

yes no (if yes, how many)

10. Did you have any difficulty in English conversation right after arrival?

1. very often
2. often
3. sometimes
4. not often
5. seldom
6. never

11. Do you have any difficulty in English conversation now?

1. very often
2. often
3. sometimes
4. not often
5. seldom
6. never

12. Do you have any trouble in your daily life because of English?

1. very often
2. often
3. sometimes
4. not often
5. seldom
6. never

13. Do you understand your classes well?

1. not at all
2. little
3. not well
4. a little
5. well
6. very well

14. Can you compete with American classmates in classes?

1. not at all
2. little
3. not well
4. a little
5. well
6. very well

15. Number the following in order of difficulty with "1" being the most difficult.

( ) a. listening
( ) b. speaking
( ) c. reading
( ) d. writing

16. Number the following in the order of difficulty.

( ) a. daily conversation
( ) b. lectures
( ) c. TV
( ) d. radio
( ) e. discussion
( ) f. newspapers
( ) g. reports and term papers

17. Which of the following was most useful and relevant to current studies in America?

elementary school
junior high school
senior high school
preparatory school
university

18. Which of the following was most useful and relevant to your daily life in America?
    elementary school
    junior high school
    senior high school
    preparatory school
    university
19. Have you taken the Standardized Test of English Proficiency?
    yes no
    If so, what level or class?

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE No. 3

If the answer is definitely "yes," please circle 5, if definitely "no," circle 1. If the answer is "yes," please circle 4 and if "no," circle 2. Number 3 is neutral.

	yes				no
25. Do you think that the Americans understand what you say well?	5	4	3	2	1
41. Did you learn much about American culture in English classes in junior high school?	5	4	3	2	1
42. Did you learn much about American culture in English classes in senior high school?	5	4	3	2	1
44. Did you learn much about American family life in English classes in junior high school?	5	4	3	2	1
45. Did you learn much about American family life in English classes in senior high school?	5	4	3	2	1
47. Did you learn much about American school life in English classes in junior high school?	5	4	3	2	1
48. Did you learn much about American school life in English classes in senior high school?	5	4	3	2	1
51. Do you wish that your English proficiency were a little bit higher?	5	4	3	2	1
52. When misunderstandings happen between you and Americans, do you think that the only cause is your low English language proficiency?	5	4	3	2	1
53. Do you have trouble in classes because of your English?	5	4	3	2	1

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE No. 4 (for returnees)

Name

1. Is it good to give English training before going to the United States? yes no 5 4 3 2 1
2. Could you understand almost everything that Americans said on departure from the United States? 5 4 3 2 1
3. Could you express yourself well in English on departure from the United States? 5 4 3 2 1
4. Did you still have trouble with the following on departure from the United States?
    - a. radio, TV 5 4 3 2 1
    - b. newspapers 5 4 3 2 1
    - c. daily conversation 5 4 3 2 1
    - d. telephone 5 4 3 2 1
    - e. lectures 5 4 3 2 1
    - f. discussion in class 5 4 3 2 1
    - g. reading texts for class 5 4 3 2 1
    - h. writing papers 5 4 3 2 1
5. Number the following, starting from the aspect you feel was most improved by your stay in the United States.
    - ( ) a. listening
    - ( ) b. speaking
    - ( ) c. reading
    - ( ) d. writing
    - ( ) e. grammar
    - ( ) f. translation
    - ( ) g. vocabulary
6. Are you more interested in English now than before you went to the United States? yes no 5 4 3 2 1
7. Do you think your study in the United States is useful for your English classes now? 5 4 3 2 1
8. Do you think your English classes are more interesting now than before you went to the United States? 5 4 3 2 1
9. Do you think that your English proficiency decreased after coming back? yes no 5 4 3 2 1

10. Do you use English other than in your classes at school? 5 4 3 2 1

11. Do you study English other than in your classes at school? 5 4 3 2 1

NOTES

1 In 1978, 6,836 Japanese went to the United States for study or training and 2,805 went for research. People who stayed there for study or training are included in the 928,096 tourists who visited the United States. The United States accepted about half of the Japanese students and scholars who went abroad for academic purposes (Ministry of Justice, Immigration Bureau, 1979).

2 According to *Study Abroad and Conversation*, Vol. 11, No. 9 (Sept., 1976), about 500 Japanese high school students went to the United States for study in various programs from 1977-1978.

3 In 1976, *Study Abroad and Conversation*, carried articles on high school student study abroad programs in Nos. 3, 4. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

JAPANESE STUDENTS' KNOWLEDGE OF AMERICAN CULTURE AND LIFE

Kenji Kitao
S. Kathleen Kitao

Abstract

As more and more Japanese people come into contact with Americans, there is an increased potential for misunderstanding. The language barrier is not the only cause of these possible misunderstandings. Misunderstanding and miscommunication can also be caused by lack of shared background knowledge. In order to find out how much Japanese people know about American culture, the Test of American Culture was constructed. This test was administered to three groups of students in 1976—Americans in the United States, Japanese students in the United States, and Japanese students in Japan. The results indicated that even the Japanese students in the United States had difficulty with such areas as manners, covert culture, and practical information. The Japanese students in Japan had even greater difficulties in these areas. In 1988, we administered the test again to Japanese students in Japan. We found that though the students in the updated study did somewhat better, they had problems in many of the same areas.

Introduction

About two million Japanese people visit the United States each year (Ministry of Justice, 1988). More Japanese encounter more American people and culture on a daily basis than in the past. As such encounters increase, more misunderstandings and miscommunications occur. These arise not only because of language barriers but also because of cultural barriers.

In the English teaching profession in Japan, American culture has been emphasized recently, because of the stress on communication. However, previous studies, reviewing high school English textbooks (Kitao, 1979a) and analyzing questionnaires completed by 63 Japanese students in the United States (Kitao, 1978, 1979b) show that culture is taught neither extensively nor well. Japanese students do not learn culture well at any level and this contributes to the culture shock and poor intercultural communication they experience in the United States.

There are few studies on teaching culture. There are no standardized examinations to measure the knowledge of American culture in Japan.

The Test of American Culture — Original study

The purpose of this study was to measure which items of American culture Japanese students know. With the cooperation of American informants and Japanese students in the United States, an objective culture examination, the Test of American Culture, was developed using books on American culture and other studies and sources of information (Commanger, 1959; Doty and Ross, 1973; Okada and Okada, 1973; Tiersky and Tiersky, 1970; Clark, 1972; Lado, 1961; Morain, 1971; Nostrand, 1974; Seelye, 1966, 1974; Upshur, 1966; Yousef, 1968; Allen, 1955; Brooks, 1964).

In this study, we defined "culture" as the knowledge and behavior that a people in the same language community have learned and share among themselves.

Construction of the Test

The test was a written one with all questions in English. Such a format was chosen because: (1) many people can be examined with a paper test, (2) language and culture should not be separated, (3) some questions could not be given in Japanese, and (4) American students were tested as a control group.

The test has four pages of questions and one separate answer sheet. All the questions are multiple choice with four options from which the students choose the best answer. Thus, this test gives an objective way to check students' knowledge of particular items.

The test concerns 49 different areas of American culture. One area, measurement, is included twice to cover weight, length, and liquid volume. These fifty areas are shown in Table 1. The 50 areas cover

TABLE 1
AREAS IN THE TEST OF AMERICAN CULTURE

1. Literature
2. Music
3. History
4. Industry
5. Politics
6. Famous Places
7. States
8. Transportation
9. Superstition
10. Sports
11. Religion
12. Newspapers
13. Magazines
14. The Economy
15. Education
16. Leisure
17. TV and Movies
18. Medicine
19. Sex Roles
20. The Family
21. Driving
22. Holidays
23. Events and Ceremonies
24. Customs
25. American Character
26. Temperature
27. Shopping
28. Postage
29. The Telephone
30. Money
31. Letters
32. Measurements
33. Measurements
34. Nicknames
35. Food
36. Meals
37. Table Setting
38. Table Seating
39. Manners
40. Etiquette
41. Drink
42. Forms of Address
43. The House
44. Cleanliness
45. Housekeeping
46. Clothes
47. Gestures
48. Space
49. Time
50. Color

both Culture with a big C, such as literature, music, history, and industry, and culture with a small c[1], such as nicknames, food, and meals. They include some practical items necessary and useful for foreign visitors (the telephone, postage, measurements, money, etc.) as well as a number of aspects of covert culture (time, space, etc.).

For each item, there were two questions. Two parallel tests, numbered 1-50 and 51-100, were created. In each part, the questions were in the order shown in Table 1. In 1-50, the student selected the word or phrase most closely related to the given keyword or phrase. In 51-100, the student, given a sentence with a blank, chose the best word or phrase from a list of four. Examples:

23. Fourth of July: (a) minister (b) turkey and dressing (c) fireworks (d) colored eggs

76. Water begins to freeze at ____ ° F. (a) 0 (b) 10 (c) 21 (d) 32

Administration of the Test of American Culture

Participants. The test was administered to 20 American students at a midwestern university (Group I) as a control group, and 200 Japanese students as an experimental group. The experimental group included six kinds of students: (Group II) 40 Japanese students at a midwestern university, (Group III) 18 high school students preparing to participate in exchange student programs in the United States, (Group IV) 23 sophomores at a nutrition college, (Group V) 51 night-class students at a nutrition junior college, (Group VI) 26 sophomore English majors at a junior college, and (Group VII) 42 freshmen elementary education majors at a junior college.

Japanese students in the U.S. (Group II) had learned much about American culture during their stay in the United States. The high school students (Group III) had been selected for exchange student programs and were preparing to go to the United States in the summer of 1976. They had received some orientation to American culture. Those students in Group IV were superior students whose grades in senior high school had been high. The night school students in Group V had very low English proficiency. As English majors, Group VI showed high interest in this test. Groups VII demonstrated some difficulty in English. In general the non-English majors in Japan had some trouble with the English on the test.

Procedures. Students in Groups I and II took the test individually in March, 1976, at the university. The Americans spent between 9 and 25 minutes, and the Japanese, between 18 and 49 minutes to complete the test. All students in Group III took the test on April 3 in Kyoto together, and finished it within sixty minutes. Groups IV, V, VI, and VII took the test in their classes and spent 60, 70, 75, and 80 minutes respectively. One student in Group IV, 10 in Group V, and 5 in Group VII lacked more than ten questions of finishing their responses, and their responses were eliminated from the following analyses and evaluations.

Results and Discussion

Differences of groups. The frequency distributions of the total scores of the individual students in each group are shown in Table 2. The Americans (Group I) obtained the highest scores, the Japanese students in the U.S. (Group II) the second, and the high school students (Group III) the third highest. Among Japanese college students, English majors (Group VI) scored the highest and the night students (Group V) the lowest.

The scores of 10 of the 20 Americans fell between 80 and 90 percent. Their mean score was 85.25, and the standard deviation was 3.90. Even though not all of them scored as high as was expected, the Americans' scores were homogeneous.

A multiple range test was administered with the Scheffe procedure at the 0.05 level. This test determined that Groups II was also significantly different from any other group. However, this test did not distinguish any other groups significantly from the viewpoint of culture. Therefore, this test determined three significantly different groups: (I) American students, (II) Japanese students in the U.S., and (III) all other Japanese students.

TABLE 2
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE TOTAL SCORES OF INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS IN THE TEST OF AMERICAN CULTURE

	Groups						
Scores	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
96-100							
91-95	1						
86-90	10						
81-85	8	1					
76-80		4					
71-75	1	6					
66-70		6					
61-65		12					
56-60		3	2				
51-55		5	3			3	
46-50		1	6	3		7	
41-45		2	2	7	1	8	13
36-40			1	6	5	2	5
31-35			3	3	14	5	13
26-30				3	11	1	4
21-35			1		6		1
16-20					3		1
11-55							
6-10					1		
Norm	20	40	18	22	41	26	37
Mean	85.25	63.93	44.89	39.14	29.20	42.46	36.0
S.D.	3.90	9.74	9.03	6.21	6.30	6.70	6.27

This means that Americans knew American culture better than any Japanese students and that the Japanese students in the U.S. knew it much better than Japanese students in Japan.

Since high school students had much different backgrounds from other Japanese students in Japan, Group III was eliminated and the other four groups were merged into one, the Japanese-college students (Group VIII). Thus only three significantly different groups were used for further analyses and evaluations.

Analyses of items: Comparisons between the Americans and the Japanese students. The percentage of correct answers to each question and each item was computed. The frequency distribution of the items by percentage of students answering correctly and the subjects of these items listed in the order of difficulty for each group are shown in Table 3.

More than 50 percent of the Americans answered every item correctly. More than 90 percent of the Americans answered 26 items correctly. And every American answered 7 items correctly.

Only one item was answered correctly by more than 90 percent of the Japanese students in the U.S. Most of the items (45) were distributed almost evenly between 40 and 90 percent. On the other hand, fewer than 50 percent of the Japanese college students answered forty items correctly. No item was answered correctly by as many as 80 percent of the Japanese-college students (the highest—71.9 percent).

The percentage of correct answers on each item is shown in Table 3. Surprisingly, only between 50 and 60 percent of the Americans answered the items on religion, table seating, and manners correctly, and between 60 and 70 percent those on table setting. Seemingly this means that young Americans are not too familiar with traditional religion or manners. Neither were they knowledgeable on some items of practical information, such as postage and the telephone. Percentages on covert culture, such as space and time, were not high, either. On the other hand, they did well on questions of Culture with a big C and on daily life aspects of American culture. Thus most of the questions on the Test of American Culture seemed to be accurate

The Japanese students in the U.S. were not so successful as the American students. They had the most difficulty with nicknames and had serious problems with measurements even though they encountered them almost every day. Since 45 items are broadly distributed, between 40 and 90 percent, few conclusions could be drawn. However, the results of the test did show that most aspects of covert culture except gestures

TABLE 3
SUBJECTS OF ITEMS ARRANGED IN ORDER OF PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT ANSWERS FOR EACH GROUP

	Students		
Percent Correct	American (Group I)	Japanese in US (Group II)	Japanese College (Group VIII)
13			Newspapers
16			TV & movies
17			Time
18			Transportation
19			The economy
20			Postage
21			The telephone
22			Table setting
			Magazines
24			Religion
			Table seating
25			History
			Sports
			Manners
26			American character
27			Color
			Events & ceremonies
28			The house
29			Nicknames
30		Nicknames	Temperature
			Measurements (32)
			Measurements (33)
31			States
32			Education
			Holidays
			Driving
33			Gestures
			Forms of address

TABLE 3 (con't)

	Students		
Percent Correct	American (Group I)	Japanese in US (Group II)	Japanese College (Group VIII)
34		The economy	
35		Table setting	Space Music
36			Politics
37			Etiquette
38			Housekeeping
39		Measurements (32)	Clothes
40		Measurements (33)	
41			Shopping Money
43		Holidays	Superstition
44		Politics	
45		Education Time Space	Drink Literature
46		Religion	Sex Roles
48		Table seating	
50	Newspapers	American character	
51		Manners	Famous places
53		Superstition Postage Color	
54		Sports Newspapers	
56			Customs
57			Industry
58	Table seating Manners	The family	The family Cleanliness
59		History	Food

TABLE 3 (con't)

	Students		
Percent Correct	American (Group I)	Japanese in US (Group II)	Japanese College (Group VIII)
60	Religion		
61		Magazines Temperature	Medicine
62			Meals
63	Sports Space Money		
64		Literature Money	Leisure
65	The family Postage The telephone		
66		The telephone	
69		Shopping Forms of address	
70	Table setting	States Driving	
72			Letters
73	The house	Transportation Housekeeping	
74		Events & ceremonies The house Gestures	
75	The economy	Food	
76		Music	
78	Nicknames	Etiquette	
79		Sex roles Drink	

TABLE 3 (con't)

	Students		
Percent Correct	American (Group I)	Japanese in US (Group II)	Japanese College (Group VIII)
80	Customs Time	Customs	
81	Literature Politics Magazines		
84		Famous places TV & movies Cleanliness	
88	Cleanliness Housekeeping	Leisure	
90	States Education Driving	Industry Medicine Meals Clothes	
93	Famous places Holidays American character Meals Drink Color	Letters	
95	Transportation Leisure TV & movies Measurement (32) Food Forms of address		

TABLE 3 (con't)

	Students		
Percent Correct	American (Group I)	Japanese in US (Group II)	Japanese College (Group VIII)
98	Music Superstition Sex roles Shopping Letters Gestures Etiquette		
100	History Industry Medicine Events & ceremonies Temperature Measurement (33) Clothes		

—time, space, and color—were not well understood. Also, the students did not know about manners (table setting, table seating, and other aspects of manners) and practical information (postage, temperature, money, the telephone, and shopping). They understood some Culture with a big C (industry, famous places, music) and some daily life aspects of culture (letters, clothes, meals, medicine, leisure, TV and movies) relatively well but not sufficiently. Since they had been in the United States for a while, they seemed to have learned a good deal about the daily life part of culture but not about Culture with a big C.

The Japanese-college students (Group VIII) were half as successful as the Japanese students in the U.S. on the test. They did not obtain a high percentage of correct answers on practical information items (transportation, postage, the telephone, temperature, measurement, driving, shopping, and money). They also had trouble with items related to manners (table setting, table seating, manners, forms of address, etiquette, and clothes). They had a predictably lower percentage on all the items on covert culture (time, color, gestures, and space). They knew very little even about Culture with a big C. Fewer than 30 percent gave correct answers of 5 of the 13 items on Culture with a big C (the economy, religion, history, sports, and American character), and fewer than 40 percent on another 4 items (states, education, music, and politics). On only one such item, industry, did more than 51 percent answer correctly. It is obvious that if those students went to the United States, they would encounter many difficulties in daily life and would behave awkwardly in situations requiring certain expected manners.

In order to find out what percentage of American culture understood by average Americans was understood by Japanese students in the U.S. and in Japan, a ratio of difficulty was calculated for each item for each of the two groups. The ratios of difficulty were calculated by comparing the percentage correct on an item for the Japanese students in the U.S. and for the Japanese college students in Japan with the percentage correct for the American students. The results are shown in Table 4.

The Japanese students in the U.S. answered 76 percent and the Japanese-college students 42 percent as many items correctly as did the American students on the Test of American Culture. More than 70 percent of the Japanese students in the U.S. answered as well as the American students on 36 items, and more than 80 percent on 22 items and fewer than 50 percent on only 5 items. On the other hand, on only 2 items did more than 70 percent of the Japanese college students answer as well as the Americans, and the ratio was less than 50 percent on 37 items. There is a great gap in the understanding of American culture between the American students and the Japanese-college students but much less between the American students and the Japanese students in the U.S.

The items on which Japanese students in the U.S. scored less than 50

TABLE 4
ITEM SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF RATIO OF DIFFICULTY FOR THE TWO GROUPS OF JAPANESE STUDENTS COMPARED WITH THE AMERICAN STUDENTS

	Students	
Ratio	Japanese in US (Group II)	Japanese College (Group VIII)
0.17		TV & movies
0.19		Transportation
0.21		Time
0.25		History, newspapers, the economy, events & ceremonies
0.26		Magazines
0.28		American character
0.29		Color
0.30		Temperature, measurements (33)
0.31		Postage, measurements (32); table setting
0.33		The telephone
0.34		States, holidays, gestures
0.35		Education, forms of address
0.36		Music, driving
0.37		Nicknames, etiquette
0.39	Nicknames	The house, clothes
0.40	Measurements (33)	Religion
0.41	Measurements (32)	Sports, shopping, table seating
0.43		Politics
0.44		Superstition, manners, housekeeping
0.45	The economy	
0.46	Holidays	

TABLE 4 (con't)

	Students	
Ratio	Japanese in US (Group II)	Japanese College (Group VIII)
0.47		Sex roles
0.48		Drink
0.50	Education, table setting	
0.53	Politics	
0.54	Superstition, American character	
0.55		Literature, famous places, space
0.56	Time	
0.57	Color	Industry
0.59	History	
0.60	Temperature	
0.61		Medicine
0.62		Food
0.65		Money
0.66		Cleanliness
0.67		Meals
0.68		Leisure
0.70		Customs
0.71	Shopping	
0.72	Forms of address	
0.74	Magazines, events & ceremonies	Letters
0.76	Transportation, gestures	
0.77	Literature, religion	
0.78	Music, states, driving, space	
0.79	Food, etiquette	
0.81	Sex roles, postage	

TABLE 4 (con't)

	Students	
Ratio	Japanese in US (Group II)	Japanese College (Group VIII)
0.83	Table seating, housekeeping	
0.85	Drink	
0.86	Sports	
0.88	TV & movies, the family, manners	
0.89	Industry, medicine, clothes	The family
0.91	Famous places	
0.92	Leisure	
0.95	Letters	
0.96	Cleanliness	
0.97	Meals	
1.00	Customs, newspapers	
1.02	The telephone, money, the house	

percent related to measurement (2 items), nicknames, the economy, education, and holidays. Most of these are very important in daily life. Even though they were students, they did not know much about American education. Next came items related to covert culture. On these areas, the students scored no higher than 80 percent on any item, with time and color causing the most serious problems. Some of the items in Culture with a big C were difficult, too.

However, in comparison with the American students, the Japanese students in the U.S. did not have great difficulty with items on practical information and manners, except those concerning table setting and some of the daily life aspects of culture. Since they were living in the United States, they had learned a great deal about daily life culture in areas such as the telephone, money, postage, and driving, but not measurements and temperature. They obtained more than 80 percent on most items dealing with manners. Therefore, apart from a few items, the Japanese students in the U.S. achieved a fairly good percentage of correct answers on the Test of American Culture as compared with American students.

On the other hand the Japanese-college students did not fare well on practical items as compared with American students, and they are very important matters when living and traveling in the United States. These items concerned transportation, measurements, temperature, postage, and the telephone. They also failed to obtain high ratios on items dealing with manners including table setting, forms of address, etiquette, and other aspects. Neither did they understand covert culture well. Time was the most difficult area, then color, and then gestures. These students did not understand the daily life aspect of culture well, nor did they know much about Culture with a big C.

The Japanese students in the U.S. did not know measurements and table setting facts well, even though these are very common matters in daily life. This means that just living in the United States is not enough to learn all the aspects of American culture, but it is useful for learning some parts. It is interesting to note the differences between the Japanese students in the U.S. and the Japanese-college students because these can indicate which of the areas of American culture that are not known in Japan can be learned about easily by just living in the United States and which cannot.

Comparison between Japanese students in the United States and in Japan. In order to make such differences clear, the Japanese-college students were compared with Japanese students in the U.S., following the procedure previously used for comparison with the American students' scores. The results are shown on Table 5. In this table, the lower the number, the more easily the relevant facts are learned in the United States; the higher the number, the more difficult it is to learn the facts. The Japanese-college students understood 57 percent of what the

TABLE 5

ITEM SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF RATIOS OF THE JAPANESE COLLEGE STUDENTS COMPARED WITH THE JAPANESE STUDENTS IN U.S.

Ratio	Japanese-College Students (Group VIII)
0.19	TV & movies
0.24	Newspapers
0.25	Transportation
0.32	The telephone
0.36	Magazines, events & ceremonies
0.37	Time
0.38	The house
0.39	Postage
0.43	History, clothes
0.44	States
0.45	Gestures
0.46	Music, driving
0.47	Sports, etiquette
0.49	Temperature, forms of address
0.50	Table seating, manners
0.51	Religion, color
0.52	American character
0.53	Housekeeping
0.55	The economy
0.56	Drink
0.58	Sex roles
0.59	Shopping
0.61	Famous places, table setting
0.63	Industry, money
0.67	Medicine
0.69	Meals, cleanliness
0.70	Customs

TABLE 5 (con't)

Ratio	Japanese-College Students (Group VIII)
0.71	Literature, education, space
0.73	Leisure
0.75	Holidays, measurements (33)
0.77	Measurements (32)
0.78	Letters, food
0.82	Politics, superstition
0.97	Nicknames
1.00	The family

Japanese students in the U.S. did as a whole. The ratio was more than 80 percent on only 4 items. Thus, the Japanese students in the U.S. had learned a great deal about American culture in the United States.

To determine what the Japanese students in the U.S. had learned in the United States and what they had not, the percentage of correct answers on individual items were compared for Japanese students in the U.S. and Japan. On daily life aspects of culture (TV and movies, newspapers, magazines, events and ceremonies, the house, etc.) and on practical information (transportation, the telephone, postage, etc.), the Japanese-college students scored low comparatively, and percentages were also low on covert-culture items (time, gestures, and color). Some aspects of manners (etiquette, forms of address, table seating, and manners in general) were less well understood by the Japanese college students. Thus, in the United States, students can learn a good deal about superficial daily life aspects of American culture and some other areas of practical information as well as covert culture.

Both groups of Japanese students had trouble with measurements. There seemed to be a tendency not to learn something if it is not needed for daily life, such as facts concerning politics, superstition, leisure activities, and literature.

An Update of the Study

In order to find out whether and how the knowledge that Japanese students in Japan have about American culture has changed since the previous study was done, we updated and administered the test to 238 students in Japanese colleges in the spring of 1988. Since this sample included more students in four year universities and more English majors than the previous study, the two are not directly comparable. However, this updated study should give an idea of how the situation has changed.

Methods

Participants. The participants in this study were 238 students in seven English classes. They were (Group I) 29 freshman English majors at a four-year women's college, (Group II) 33 sophomore law students at a four-year university, (Group III) 45 freshman business majors at a four-year university, (Group IV) 36 mixed-major sophomores at a four-year university, (Group V) 22 sophomore English majors from a foreign language junior college, (Group VI) 30 sophomore English majors at a four-year women's college, and (Group VII) 43 sophomore English majors at a four-year women's college.

Analysis. Students who left more than ten questions unanswered were eliminated from the analysis. Fifteen students were eliminated this way.

The percentages of correct answers for the two items on the same subject were averaged to find the percentage correct for a particular subject. Groups were first analyzed separately, although the final results were calculated from all seven groups. If the percentage correct that one group had on a question was more than twenty percentage points above the second highest group, the highest group was eliminated, since there was considered to be a history effect of some kind (e.g., the information in that item had been taught in that class). One group was eliminated in the cases of six questions. In addition, in one case, both of the top two groups were more than 20 percentage points ahead of the third group. In that case, both of the top two groups were eliminated.

Measurement instrument. The Test of American Culture (Kitao, 1979a) used in the original study described in the first part of this paper was updated and revised for the new study. Revisions were made to update information in questions, to modify the alternatives in order to make them clearer, and to correct the grammar. The revised questionnaire is found in the Appendix.

Procedure. Questionnaires were administered in class. Students were informed that the results of the test would not effect their grades, though they would receive extra credit points if they did particularly well. If students had questions that could be answered without giving away the answer to a particular item, the questions were answered.

Results and Discussion

The frequency distribution of the test are shown in Table 6. The mean for all the participants was 46.68 and the standard deviation 7.56. The lowest score was 30; the highest was 71.

The percentage of correct answers for the combined results of the seven classes in the updated study and for the Japanese students in Japan are shown in Table 7.

On seven items, more than 70% of the participants answered correctly. Thirty-four of the items were concentrated between twenty and seventy percent, with the greater concentration (28 items) between thirty-four percent and fifty-six percent. Students found practical information items (transportation, postage, the telephone, temperature, measurements, and money), aspects of covert culture (space, color, and gestures), and manners (table setting, table seating, manners, etiquette, etc.) among the more difficult items. They also had problems with Culture with a big C (religion, history, music, etc.).

Comparison of Japanese students in Japan. The students in the

TABLE 6
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF THE TOTAL SCORES
OF INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS IN THE
TEST OF AMERICAN CULTURE—NEW SAMPLE

	Groups						
Scores	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
71-75							1
66-70		1					1
61-65		4		1			2
56-60	2	3		1	3	1	5
51-55	7	7	9	5	7	6	7
46-50	6	5	9	8	8	5	13
41-45	4	10	14	10	4	9	11
36-40	8	1	8	8		6	2
31-35	2		5	2		3	1
26-30		1		1			
Norm	29	33	45	36	22	30	43
Mean	45.97	49.52	44.64	43.97	50.27	44.17	49.30
S.D.	7.62	7.99	6.51	7.38	50.27	6.28	8.34

updated study had a higher mean score (46.68) than the Japanese college students in the previous study (36.93). However, as mentioned above, there were more English majors, more four-year university students, and only day students in the updated study. Therefore, the students in the updated study would be expected to be more knowledgeable about American culture and more proficient in English than the students in the previous study. In spite of the advantages, the students in the updated study averaged only ten points higher than those in the previous study. While Japanese students may know a little more about American culture than they did when the previous study was conducted, it does not appear that they are much more knowledgeable, since the difference in the means can be at least partly explained by the differences in the samples.

The results of the two samples are surprisingly parallel. The samples

TABLE 7

SUBJECTS OF ITEMS ARRANGED IN ORDER OF PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT ANSWERS—COMPARISON

	Subjects	
Percentage Correct	Updated study	Original study (Japanese in Japan)
12	Newspapers	
13		Newspapers
15	Measurements (33)	
17		Time
18	Table setting	Transportation
		TV & movies
19		The economy
20		Postage
		The telephone
22		Magazines
		Table setting
24		Religion
		Table seating
25	Measurements (32)	History
		Sports
		Manners
26	Sports	American character
27	Nicknames	Events & ceremonies
		Color
28	Transportation	The house
29	Religion	Nicknames
	Space	
30		Temperature
		Measurements (32)
		Measurements (33)
31	Postage	States
32	TV & movies	Education
		Driving
		Holidays

TABLE 7 (con't)

	Subjects	
Percentage Correct	Updated study	Original study (Japanese in Japan)
33		Forms of address Gestures
34	Temperature	
35	Music History	Music Space
36	States Money	Politics
37	The telephone	Etiquette
38		Housekeeping
39	Table seating	Clothes
40	American character Gestures Education	
41	Manners	Shopping Money
42	Magazines	
43	Politics Superstition	Superstition
45		Literature Drink
46	Events & ceremonies Housekeeping	Sex roles
49	The economy Drink	
50	Color	
51	The family	Famous places
52	Literature	
53	Holidays Etiquette The house	

TABLE 7 (con't)

	Subjects	
Percentage Correct	Updated study	Original study (Japanese in Japan)
55	Driving	
	Shopping	
	Time	
56	Forms of address	Customs
57		Industry
58		The family
		Cleanliness
59		Food
61	Customs	Medicine
		Meals
64		Leisure
67	Clothes	
69	Letters	
70	Sex roles	
71	Industry	
	Famous places	
72	Cleanliness	Letters
75	Meals	
76	Leisure	
80	Food	
83	Medicine	

were highly correlated ($r = .78$; $p < 0.0001$). For 42 of the 50 items, the students in the updated study had a higher percentage of correct answers. Of those 42, 23 were within 15 percentage points lower. The students in the two samples had difficulty in similar areas—practical information, covert culture, manners, and Culture with a big C.

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APPENDIX

The Test of American Culture (Revised Version)

This is a test to measure how much you understand or know American culture. There are 100 questions. For the first fifty questions, choose one answer which is strongly associated with or appropriate to the question word. For the last fifty questions, select one answer which fits in the blank. There is only one correct answer to each question.

EXAMPLE: the largest state: (a) Alaska (b) Texas (c) New York (d) Kansas
Alaska is the largest state in the U.S., so circle "a" on the answer sheet.

1. *The Old Man and the Sea*: (a) Mark Twain (b) Robert Frost (c) Eugene O'Neill (ⓓ) Ernest Hemingway
2. jazz: (a) New York (b) Chicago (ⓒ) New Orleans (d) Los Angeles
3. the Declaration of Independence: (a) George Washington (ⓑ) Thomas Jefferson (c) Benjamin Franklin (d) Abraham Lincoln
4. Detroit: (ⓐ) automobiles (b) steel (c) aircraft (d) oil

*5. governor: (ⓐ) state (b) city (c) county (d) country

6. Hollywood: (a) New York (b) Washington, D.C. (ⓒ) Los Angeles (d) San Francisco
7. New England: (a) New York (ⓑ) Vermont (c) Michigan (d) Kansas
8. Amtrack: (ⓐ) train (b) bus (c) subway (d) airplane
9. a black cat: (a) happiness (b) many children (ⓒ) bad luck (d) wealth
10. National League: (a) Royals (b) Yankees (ⓒ) Dodgers (d) Red Socks
11. one of the biggest religious denominations: (a) Nazarene (b) Congregational (c) Christian Science (ⓓ) Baptist

*12. a nation-wide daily newspaper: (a) *New York Times* (b) *Washington Post* (c) *Time* (ⓓ) *USA Today*

13. a weekly magazine: (a) *Reader's Digest* (b) *National Geographic* (ⓒ) *Time* (d) *Wall Street Journal*

*14. minimum wage per hour: (a) $2.35 (ⓑ) $3.35 (c) $4.35 (d) $5.35

15. compulsory education: (a) for 6 years (b) for 9 years (ⓒ) until 16 years old (d) until 18 years old

16. the most common pastime at home: (a) playing cards (ⓑ) watching TV (c) knitting (d) reading
17. a local TV station: (ⓐ) KCMO (b) CBS (c) ABC (d) NBC
18. headache: (a) Pepto Bismal (ⓑ) aspirin (c) capsules (d) Vick's Vapa-Rub
19. teachers in elementary schools: (ⓐ) mostly women (b) mostly men (c) half women (d) only men
20. divorce rate: (a) 10% (b) 20% (ⓒ) 40% (d) 60%
*21. speed limit on major highways: (a) 40 mph (b) 55 mph (c) 65 mph (ⓓ) either 55 or 65 mph
22. holiday in October: (a) Lincoln's Birthday (b) Labor Day (ⓒ) Halloween (d) Easter
23. Fourth of July: (a) minister (b) turkey and dressing (ⓒ) fireworks (d) colored eggs
*24. gift-giving: (ⓐ) birthday (b) New Year's (c) funeral (d) 4th of July
*25. not a common American characteristic: (a) socially mobile (b) competitive (c) materialistic (ⓓ) superstitious
26. normal body temperature: (a) 95.5°F (ⓑ) 98.6°F (c) 100.2°F (d) 102.3°F
27. sales tax (a) 3% (b) 5% (c) only for luxury items (ⓓ) depends on each state's policy
28. cheapest postal rates: (ⓐ) books (b) printed matter (c) parcel (d) first class
29. cheapest telephone rates: (a) person-to-person (b) collect (ⓒ) station-to-station (d) person-to-person collect
30. dime: (a) 1 cent (b) 5 cents (ⓒ) 10 cents (d) 25 cents
31. last expression in a letter: (a) Thank you. (b) Goodbye. (ⓒ) Sincerely yours. (d) I am looking forward to hearing from you soon.
32. 1 pint: (ⓐ) 2 cups (b) two quarts (c) half gallon (d) half cup
33. one pound: (a) 8 oz. (b) 10 oz. (c) 12 oz. (ⓓ) 16 oz.
34. Elizabeth: (a) Ellen (ⓑ) Betty (c) Kathy (d) Emillie
*35. dessert: (a) roll (ⓑ) cake (c) muffin (d) vegetable salad
36. main dish: (a) salad (b) soup (ⓒ) meat loaf (d) vegetables
37. napkin (table setting): (ⓐ) left of the plate (b) right of the plate (c) above the plate (d) under the plate
38. right side of a host: (a) gentleman of honor (b) second most important gentleman (ⓒ) lady of honor (d) second most important lady

39. introductions: (ⓐ) men to women (b) women to men (c) old people to young people (d) no rules
*40. inappropriate etiquette: (a) helping a person put on a coat (ⓑ) carrying food to the mouth with a knife (c) paying a compliment (d) helping a woman with her baggage
41. liquor: (ⓐ) scotch (b) coke (c) beer (d) coffee
42. for women in general: (a) Mrs. (b) Miss (ⓒ) Ms. (d) Dr.
*43. average-sized house: (a) 10 rooms (ⓑ) 3 bedrooms (c) 2 garages (d) 3 bathrooms
44. taking shower: (ⓐ) every day (b) every other day (c) once a week (d) twice a week
45. housekeeping: (a) maid (b) servant (ⓒ) wife (d) husband
46. only for women: (ⓐ) pantsuits (b) jeans (c) suits (d) bathrobe
*47. shrugging the shoulders: (a) I'm sorry. (b) I beg your pardon. (ⓒ) I don't know. (d) important point
48. average refrigerator: (a) 3 feet high (b) 4 feet high (ⓒ) 6 feet high (d) 8 feet high
*49. office hours: (ⓐ) 9 a.m.-5 p.m. (b) 9 a.m.-5:30 p.m. (c) 8:30 a.m.-5:30 p.m. (d) 9 a.m.-6 p.m.
50. depression (color): (a) yellow (b) white (c) red (ⓓ) blue
51. *Light in August* was written by ____. (a) Hemingway (ⓑ) Faulkner (c) Poe (d) Steinbeck
52. ____ is famous for country music. (a) St. Louis (ⓑ) Nashville (c) Denver (d) Kansas City
*53. The Gettysburg Address was delivered by ____. (ⓐ) Abraham Lincoln (b) Patrick Henry (c) Daniel Boone (d) Martin Luther King, Jr.
*54. The main industrial zone of the U.S. is in the ____. (a) northwest (b) southwest (ⓒ) northeast (d) southeast
55. There are ____ senators in Congress. (a) 10 (b) 50 (ⓒ) 100 (d) 155
56. The Lincoln Memorial is located in ____. (a) New York (ⓑ) Washington, D.C. (c) Chicago (d) Springfield
57. ____ is one of the states in the South. (a) West Virginia (ⓑ) Mississippi (c) Arizona (d) Minnesota
58. One of the major ____ services is Greyhound. (ⓐ) bus (b) train (c) subway (d) airplane

*59. If you break a mirror, you will have bad luck for ____ year(s). (a) 1 (b) 3 (c) 5 (ⓓ) 7

60. The traditional football season is in the ____. (a) spring (b) summer (ⓒ) fall (d) winter

61. Jewish people usually go to the synagogue on ____ evening. (a) Sunday (b) Monday (ⓒ) Friday (d) Saturday

*62. American newspapers carry little/few ____. (a) local news (b) advertisements (c) sports news (ⓓ) international news

63. ____ is issued monthly. (a) *New Yorker* (b) *U.S. News and World Report* (c) *TV Guide* (ⓓ) *Seventeen*

64. The average annual income is: (a) $10,000 (ⓑ) $15,000 (c) $20,000 (d) $25,000

*65. A senior in high school is in the ____th grade. (a) 10 (b) 11 (ⓒ) 12 (d) 13

66. Most people take vacations in the ____. (a) winter (b) spring (ⓒ) summer (d) fall

67. Only people above 18 years old can see ____-rated movies. (a) G (b) PG (c) R (ⓓ) X

68. When you need medicine, you buy it from a ____. (a) hospital (b) doctor (ⓒ) drug store (d) dime store

*69. According to the law, women are to be paid ____ men. (a) more than (b) less than (ⓒ) the same as (d) not specified by law

*70. An average-sized family has ____ people. (a) 3 (ⓑ) 4 (c) 5 (d) 7

71. In most states, people can start driving when they are ____ years old. (a) 15 (ⓑ) 16 (c) 18 (d) 20

72. People bring flowers to graves on ____. (a) Veteran's Day (b) Fourth of July (c) Thanksgiving (ⓓ) Memorial Day

73. Caps and gowns are used for ____. (a) weddings (b) funerals (c) engagements (ⓓ) graduations

*74. If you are invited to dinner, it is polite to ____. (a) bring a rose (b) bring the dessert (ⓒ) send a thank-you note afterwards (d) not do anything special

75. The American dream is the belief that any individual can achieve wealth and fame through ____. (a) birth (b) privilege (ⓒ) hard work and honesty (d) good luck

76. Water begins to freeze at ____ °F. (a) 0 (b) 10 (c) 21 (ⓓ) 32

*77. The biggest sale in the year is ____. (ⓐ) after Christmas (b) in summer (c) before Easter (d) on Washington's Birthday

*78. Regular first class letters cost ____ cents each. (a) 18 (b) 22 (ⓒ) 25 (d) 28

*79. The cheapest long distance telephone rate is the ____ rate. (a) morning (b) afternoon (c) evening (ⓓ) weekend

80. Average Americans seldom carry more than $____ cash. (a) 10 (ⓑ) 50 (c) 100 (d) 200

81. The normal salutation of a letter is ____. (ⓐ) Dear ____: (b) Hello! (c) How are you? (d) season's greetings

82. Two feet equals ____ inches. (a) 12 (b) 18 (ⓒ) 24 (d) 30

83. One yard equals ____ feet. (ⓐ) 3 (b) 5 (c) 10 (d) 15

84. ____ is a nickname for Margaret. (a) Mary (b) Marian (ⓒ) Peggy (d) Becky

*85. A typical lunch is ____. (a) pancakes (b) cereal (ⓒ) a sandwich (d) steak

86. Dinner is usually eaten around ____ o'clock on weekdays. (a) 12 (b) 4 (ⓒ) 6 (d) 8

87. Water glasses are set ____. (a) to the right of the knife (ⓑ) at the tip of the knife (c) on the plate (d) to the left of the fork

88. The hostess sits across from ____. (ⓐ) the host (b) the fireplace (c) a cabinet (d) the main guest

*89. When you are a guest, it is poor manners to ____. (a) eat silently (b) hold your fork in your right hand (ⓒ) leave right after you finish eating (d) keep a napkin on your lap while eating

*90. It is not appropriate to ____. (ⓐ) ask someone's age (b) stand up when you are introduced (c) send a seasons-greeting card (d) take the coats of visitors

91. Americans often drink ____ with meals. (ⓐ) pop (b) cocktails (c) gin (d) whiskey

*92. The politest way to address a doctor is ____. (a) first name (b) Mr. (first name and surname) (c) Dr. (first name) (ⓓ) Dr. (surname)

93. Middle class people often live in ____. (a) the heart of a big city (b) downtown (c) the country (ⓓ) the suburbs

94. Many American women put on ____ when they go out. (ⓐ) perfume (b) hair cream (c) hand cream (d) soap

95. Major housekeeping is done ____. (a) once a day (b) every other day (ⓒ) weekly (d) biweekly

*96. ____ are formal clothes. (a) Summer dresses (b) Short skirts (c) Sport coats (ⓓ) Tuxedos

*97. Crossing the fingers means ____. (a) friendship (b) love (ⓒ) good luck (d) money

98. Common speaking distance is ____. (a) 1 ft (b) 1.5 ft (c) 2 ft (ⓓ) 3 ft

99. If you have an appointment at 3 o'clock, you should be there at ____. (a) 2:45 (ⓑ) 3:00 (c) 3:15 (d) 3:30

*100. ____ connotes young, inexperienced, and immature. (a) Brown (b) Orange (c) Pink (ⓓ) Green

*=revised questions

NOTE

1. According to Allen and Valette (1972: 245), Culture with a big C is "achievements and contributions to civilization, art, music, literature, architecture, technology, scientific discoveries, and politics," and culture with a small c, "the behavioral patterns or life styles of the people: when and what they eat, how they make a living, the way they organize their society, the attitude they express toward friends and members of their families, how they act in different situations, which expressions they use to show approval and disapproval, the traditions they must observe and so on."

PRACTICAL ADJUSTMENT TO LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES: INTERVIEWS WITH INCOMING JAPANESE STUDENTS AT AN AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

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Abstract

Previous studies have indicated that Japanese students do not know very much about American culture and that they have difficulty when they come to the United States. In order to find out in more detail what problems Japanese students have with daily life in the United States, I interviewed twenty newly arrived Japanese students. I asked them questions in ten areas related to daily life, including money, time, clothes, transportation, and getting to know Americans. The results indicate that newly arrived Japanese have difficulties in a number of these areas when they come to the United States. For example, while the students understood American coins and bills, they did not know much about checking accounts or writing checks or how much to expect a meal or a night in a hotel to cost. Although they knew what types of clothing to wear for business and school occasions, they had problems in knowing what kinds of clothing to wear for social occasions, because they did not have much awareness of the differences in levels of formality for social occasions. The results of this study indicate that Japanese students need more preparation before going to the United States.

Introduction

In previous studies, I have found that Japanese students do not know very much about American culture (Kitao, 1979a, 1979b). As a result, they often have difficulties when they live in the United States (Kitao, 1978, 1980). Because these studies mainly involved paper-and-pencil measures or surveys of textbooks, and because I had not found in-depth studies of the problems that Japanese students had in the United States, in 1976, I interviewed twenty Japanese students who had recently arrived in the U.S. The purpose of this study was to find out, in detail, what problems they had in practical areas of daily life. I feel that the results of this study are still useful. Readministering the Test of American Culture (Kitao, 1979b) in 1988 (see "Japanese Students' Knowledge of American Culture and Life") indicated that Japanese students do not know much more about culture and life in the United States than they did in 1976. Also, when I was at Michigan State University from 1985 to 1987, Japanese students that I talked to had many of the same problems described by these interviewees.

Methods

I interviewed twenty newly arrived Japanese students at a large Midwestern university. The questions in the interview concentrated on practical information about the United States, and the purpose of the interview was to find out the types of problems that Japanese students encountered or would be likely to encounter in daily life and in interactions with Americans.

Instrument

I prepared questions for the interview on the areas of American culture that seem most necessary and useful for Japanese students, businesspeople and tourists (particularly for the first two groups) in the United States. The questions were divided into ten sections: (1) nonverbal communication, (2) money, (3) time, (4) measurements, (5) clothes, (6) education, (7) transportation, (8) communication, (9) manners, and (10) getting acquainted with Americans. These ten sections included the eighteen areas from the Test of American Culture

(Kitao, 1979b), which were related to gestures, money, shopping, time, letters, measurements, temperature, clothes, education, transportation, communication, telephone, postage, table setting, table seating, customs, etiquette, and forms of address. The questions are given in the Appendix.

The main difference between the questions in these interviews and those in the Test of American Culture was that the interviews were more practically oriented. They were based on necessity and usefulness in the United States; many questions were concerned with behavior in a given situation. This interview was more dynamic and practical than the Test of American Culture, which was more static, academic and intellectual.

There are two types of questions in each section: one was open-ended questions (Part A), and the other was multiple-choice questions with four alternatives (Part B). The purpose of the former was to check how much the students knew about each area, and several related prompting questions were provided; therefore, the interviewee on Part A would clearly understand what was being asked and would be able to produce what he/she knew. The latter (Part B) was specific, and the interviewees did not have any guidance or help. Of course, Part A was asked first so that the multiple-choice questions did not provide hints for answers to the open-ended questions.

In a pre-test, four Americans informants were interviewed in order to determine the correct answers for Part B and find out something about what Americans expected for Part A.

Participants

There were twenty interviewees: ten males and ten females. An equal number of each sex were chosen because some questions were directed to members of both sexes (for example, on clothes), and some questions to members of only one (for example, on dating), and it is easy to compare those two with equal numbers.

All interviewees were students at a large Midwestern university, ranging in age from the late teens to the late twenties. They had spent one week to one month in the United States before the interview. Since they had been preparing to come to the United States for a long time, they were assumed to have learned some things about American culture before arriving; thus, their knowledge of American culture might be greater than that of the average Japanese. However, their experiences in the United States were limited mainly to campus life.

Procedures

The interviews were conducted individually in Japanese and lasted between one and two hours, with the average being a little longer than one and a half hours. Japanese was used because the main concern of this interview was investigating how well Japanese people understood each item of American culture in detail; it was important to let them express themselves freely.

Results and Discussion

Statistical Analysis of Part B

I tried to calculate statistical results in the analysis as much as possible, not only of Part B but also of Part A. The results of Part B are shown in Tables 1, 2, and 3.

Table 1 shows how well each student did on the 67 questions on Part B. The scores ranged between 28 and 46. The mean score was 36.0, and the standard deviation was 5.96. The group was heterogeneous in scoring. There was not much difference between females and males in the mean score, but the males were more heterogeneous.

Table 2 shows the number of correct answers to each question in Part B for each sex. Table 3 provides item analyses for the answers by the group. If these tables are studied in conjunction with the questions in Part B in the Appendix, the students' responses can be understood.

TABLE 1
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF CORRECT ANSWERS TO THE MULTIPLE-CHOICE QUESTIONS IN THE INTERVIEW

Score	Female Students	Male Students	Total Students
46	1		1
45		1	1
44		1	1
43	1		1
42	1	1	2
41		1	1
40			
39			
38	1		1
37		1	1
36			
35			
34	1		1
33	2	1	3
32	1	1	2
31	1		1
30			
29	1	1	2
28		2	2
Total	10	10	20
Mean	36.1	35.9	36.0
S.D.	5.49	6.40	5.96

TABLE 2
RESULTS OF THE INTERVIEW: PART B

No.	Female	Male	Total
I. Nonverbal Communication			
1	9	10	19
2	10	10	20
3	4	7	11
4	4	5	9
5	9	8	17
6	2	5	7
7	9	10	19
Total	47	55	102
Mean	6.71	7.86	14.57
II. Money			
1	9	10	19
2	10	7	17
3	7	6	13
4	7	4	11
5	6	5	11
Total	39	32	71
Mean	7.8	6.4	14.2
III. Time			
1	7	6	13
2	9	8	17
3	6	5	11
4	4	3	7
5	4	7	11
Total	30	29	59
Mean	6	5.8	11.8

TABLE 2 (con't)

No.	Female	Male	Total
IV. Measurements			
1	3	0	3
2	4	5	9
3	4	5	9
4	7	9	16
5	2	4	6
6	5	8	13
7	3	3	6
8	3	5	8
9	3	1	4
Total	34	40	74
Mean	3.78	4.44	8.22
V. Clothes			
1	10	10	20
2	4	2	6
3	3	4	7
4	6	7	13
5	8	6	14
Total	31	29	60
Mean	6.2	5.8	12
VI. Education			
1	2	1	3
2	10	10	20
3	6	4	10
4	1	4	5
5	6	6	12
6	10	9	19
7	1	0	1
8	8	7	15
Total	44	41	85
Mean	5.5	5.13	10.63

TABLE 2 (con't)

No.	Female	Male	Total
VII. Transportation			
1	5	8	13
2	4	1	5
3	5	4	9
4	5	3	8
5	3	5	8
6	3	1	4
7	10	6	16
Total	35	28	63
Mean	5	4	9
VIII. Communication			
1	1	3	4
2	1	4	5
3	4	2	6
4	1	2	3
5	2	4	6
6	9	10	19
Total	18	25	43
Mean	3	4.17	7.17
IX. Manners			
1	8	6	14
2	7	4	11
3	9	9	18
4	7	1	8
5	4	6	10
6	6	9	15
7	3	2	5
8	1	3	4
9	9	4	13
10	9	10	19
Total	63	54	117
Mean	6.3	5.4	11.7

TABLE 2 (con't)

No.	Female	Male	Total
X. Getting Acquainted with Americans			
1	6	8	14
2	5	4	9
3	1	3	4
4	6	6	12
5	2	5	7
Total	20	26	46
Mean	4	5.2	9.2

TABLE 3
ANALYSES OF THE ANSWERS ON EACH OPTION TO THE QUESTIONS IN PART B

	Answer				
Question	a	b	c	d	omitted
I. Nonverbal Communication					
1	19	1			
2	20				
3	1	2	4	11	2
4	5	9	1		5
5	17	1	1	1	
6	4	7	3	4	2
7	19				1
II. Money					
1	19			1	
2		17	2	1	
3		1	13	5	1
4	6	11	2	1	
5		9	11		

TABLE 3 (con't)

	Answer				
Question	a	b	c	d	omitted
III. Time					
1	13	1	1	5	
2	1	17	2		
3	6	11	2	1	
4		7	13		
5	1	6	11	2	
IV. Measurements					
1		9	3	2	6
2		9	3	1	7
3		4	1	9	6
4		2	16		2
5		6	3	6	5
6		3	3	14	
7	8	6	2		4
8	2	4	8	6	
9	2	7	4		7
V. Clothes					
1	20				
2	7	6	3	4	
3	2	1	7	10	
4	2	13	2	3	
5	6		14		
VI. Education					
1	11	3	5	1	
2				20	
3	2	4	4	10	
4	5	10		5	
5	12	5	2	1	
6	1	19			
7	1	5	1	13	
8	4	15	1		

TABLE 3 (con't)

	Answer				
Question	a	b	c	d	omitted
VII. Transportation					
1	1	5	1	13	
2	12	3	5		
3	8	1	2	9	
4	4	8	1	4	3
5	5	6	1	8	
6	2	10	4	4	
7	3		1	16	
VIII. Communication					
1	1		4	14	1
2	5	3	5	7	
3	6	7	2	3	2
4	3	10	3	4	
5	13	6			1
6	19	1			
IX. Manners					
1	14	1		5	
2		11	4	5	
3	18		2		
4		6	5	8	1
5	2		10	7	1
6	2	15	3		
7	5	9	5	1	
8	3	11	4	2	
9		7	13		
10	1			19	

TABLE 3 (con't)

	Answer				
Question	a	b	c	d	omitted
X. Getting Acquainted with Americans					
1	14	3	3		
2	1	1	8	9	
3		2	14	4	
4	12		4	4	
5	7	10	2	1	

Correct answers are underlined. (N.B.: For X. Getting Acquainted with Americans, underlined answers indicate an active effort to get to know other students.)

Individual Sections

On the basis of students' responses to the interview, the following conclusions can be reached.

I. Nonverbal communication. Nonverbal communication, including gestures, is an important aspect of communication. To communicate effectively with people from another culture, it is important to understand something about their nonverbal communication system.

The Japanese students were not familiar with gestures that Americans use. Only 1 of the 20 students could demonstrate more than three different gestures; 10 students, three gestures; 5 students, two gestures; and 4 students, only one. They had learned most of these gestures in the United States and indicated that they had known almost none of them before coming here.

Among the gestures demonstrated, the most common was the shrug, given by 13 students, all of whom knew its meaning (B, No. 2). Other gestures were given by only a few interviewees. These were: nodding to show affirmation, pointing a thumb up or down to mean good or bad, bending the fingers to beckon, pointing to oneself as the speaker, making a ring with the fingers to indicate O.K., etc. The students did not know the meanings of all the gestures they could demonstrate, and sometimes they misunderstood them.

They could not recall many gestures when asked to do so in Part A, but the results of Part B indicated that they could understand more gestures than they could produce. The gestures for "O.K." and "come" were understood by 19 students (Nos. 1 and 7). However, only 11 knew the one for "good luck" (No. 3) and 9 for "shame" (No. 4). Most students, 17, knew that "uh-huh" meant "yes" (No. 5), but only 7 knew that "huh-uh" meant "no" (No. 6). The gestures meaning money and shame were not understood well by these Japanese students.

The students had difficulty demonstrating differences between gestures used by Americans and those used by the Japanese. Only 1 pointed out more than one gesture; 15, one; and 4, none. The most frequently given difference was for "come" (8 students). Greetings, counting, and pointing to the speaker were also noted. None of the students knew American gestures well enough to compare them with Japanese gestures.

Fourteen students said that their attitude toward a teacher would be different from that toward a waitress, a clerk, or a salesman (A, No. 3). They would be more formal and polite to a teacher and try to make a good impression. However, none would show such deference to people of the other three occupations. Instead the students said they would be informal and friendly with these people. In the vertical Japanese society, teachers, particularly college professors, are very superior to students, and students are supposed to be very polite and formal toward them. On the contrary, the other three occupations are not respected in that society and it is not necessary to treat with particular politeness.

The Japanese students indicated (A, No. 4) that they thought that Americans use more gestures and other forms of nonverbal communication to express themselves and to establish close relationships with listeners than do Japanese. Americans were felt to show their emotions more directly than do Japanese people and to use more exaggerated gestures. They often smiled at the Japanese students and seemed very friendly. Most of the Japanese found that nonverbal communication was very important in communicating with Americans. Americans are often quite friendly and informal with others. The Japanese students felt that Americans use nonverbal communication to establish friendly attitudes before verbal communication begins and to make the verbal communication smoother.

Americans are very informal even toward teachers, and if Japanese students are too formal, the teachers may not feel comfortable; thus, it is important for Japanese people to learn the levels of formality expected by different people.

Not all gestures are universal, and the differences across cultures must be learned in order to avoid miscommunication. However, Japanese students do not understand this type of nonverbal communication well, except for the most common gestures.

II. Money. Money is very important wherever people go, but it is sometimes hard to handle and manage in foreign countries. This section is about not only money itself but also using money in shopping and traveling, traveling or living economically, and handling money.

The Japanese students did not know how to find night accommodations very well: 4 did not know how to find them at all; 3 said they would ask at a bus station or an airport; 6 would ask friends; and 7 would resort to Japanese books for help. The places where they would stay at night were hotels (12 students), motels (2), or the YMCA or YWCA (6). If they wanted cheaper places, they would choose youth hostels (6), the YMCA or YWCA (2), hotels or motels (4), or a park (2). Their budget for a one-night accommodation was less than \$10 (10), \$15 (2), \$20 (5), and more than \$25 (3). These amounts would have been lower than the adequate amount in most places. Most of the Japanese students did not know information about hotels or motels can be obtained from tourist bureaus.

Few of the students knew much about tipping customs in the United States. Most of the students (19) knew they should tip waiters at a restaurant (B, No. 4); however, only 11 knew the usual rate. Very few knew they should tip a taxi driver, doorman or porter.

Most students (19) realized they should keep their money in a bank (B, No. 2). However, not many knew how to use saving and checking accounts. Since checking accounts are not common in Japan, most students did not understand the checking system well, even though some had already opened such accounts. No one knew the difference between the different types of checking accounts.

The students had little knowledge of the kind of things to be aware of in using checks. Two did not know anything about checks, and only 8 could give more than two significant points. The important points that were cited mainly dealt with the signature, the line for the payee's name, and the balance. No one knew that identification cards would sometimes be needed or that some places would not accept checks. The students also did not know that the checks were local and could not be used for many purposes in other areas (B, No. 2).

Likewise, most knew little about good shopping techniques. Only five gave more than two techniques for good shopping. To shop economically, the students said they would look in the newspapers (7) and go to supermarkets (10) and sales (6), but 14 answered they would simply walk around even though they did not know where they should go.

They did not know when sales were held except at the end of each season for clothes. No one knew about moving sales, garage sales, etc. A few students thought that stores on the campus were cheaper (which they are not), and none knew about coupons in newspapers.

Not many students understood the value of American money. Some did not allow adequate budgets for night accommodations, and 9 wrongly estimated the price for breakfast (B, No. 5). However, they did seem to be familiar with American bills and coins; 19 stated the correct answer in No. 1 of Part B.

The interview brought to light the fact that Japanese students seemed to have vague ideas about night accommodations. Most did not know of economical places to stay. They did not know that youth hostels are usually located in inconvenient places and that parks are dangerous at night. Only a few students had an accurate budget for night accommodations. Only one student mentioned the common practice of staying at friends' houses.

Tipping is a very important social custom in the United States. It is particularly important for businesspeople. Japanese people should learn where and how much to tip. Undertipping, or not tipping, at a place may result in very poor service if the customer returns to that place. It may also cause resentment and give Americans a poor impression of Japanese people in general.

Japanese students did not understand checks well, whether or not they had used them. Most people in the United States, including students, use checks, and if Japanese people stay in the United States for any length of time, they should learn how to use checks properly.

Economical shopping is very important for economical living. Prices of goods differ from place to place and from time to time. If, while living in the United States, Japanese students learn some of the rules of economical shopping, they can save a great deal of money. However, these students knew only a few ways to shop economically. They tended to apply strategies that they would use in Japan directly to shopping in the United States and did not know about such American practices as garage sales, moving sales, or thrift shops. They should at least find out which places to shop and which items are inexpensive, and they should also become acquainted with the major sales. Just walking around is tiring and a waste of time. In particular, grocery shopping in the United States is very different from that in Japan. Students should learn how not to waste money.

III. Time. In dealing with other people, knowing their expectations related to time is important. It is necessary to know such things as under what circumstances it is necessary to make an appointment and when to arrive for social engagements or appointments.

Even though business hours are the same in the United States and Japan, 7 of the students did not know what the regular American business hours are (B, No. 1). This same lack of knowledge was found for air travel; they allowed more time than necessary (B, No. 4).

Fifteen students knew that appointments were important in business; 8 understood the importance of punctuality. However, none of them knew how to make business appointments properly. First, no one know how to ask for the person they would like to meet. Most students (17) asked the person for a convenient time to meet; only 1 suggested a time himself, then asked whether it was convenient. Nobody knew they would usually meet the person in his/her office for an appointment. Only 11 gave reasons for an appointment and only 6 explained who they were.

If they missed an appointment, 13 would apologize. If possible, 19 would have called the other person and let him/her know about the delay. However, 10 students would call only if they were going to be more than half an hour late.

Some did not know exactly the sorts of people with whom they would need to make an appointment; 11 did know, but two had no idea (B, No. 5). Most students (17) knew when they should arrive for an appointment with a manager (B, No. 2), but only 11 knew when they should arrive for a dinner; 6 would arrive earlier than they should (B, No. 3).

Five students did not know on which occasions Americans are particularly punctual (A, No. 5), even though all realized that Americans are usually punctual. Nine students chose an appointment including a date; a party or dinner; 7, business appointments; and a few other occasions such as classes, movies, concerts, and meals in dormitories.

Since time schedules in the two countries are not very different, Japanese people should not have trouble with business hours or meal times. However some students gave too long a time for the business hours.

The same is true with public transportation. American transportation is not always on schedule and not as punctual as that in Japan, but air travel is almost the same. Many Japanese students were too cautious in the amount of time allowed before flight, but since they need more time in strange places, this is not a bad idea.

Making an appointment is a part of American daily life. Appointments are necessary to see doctors, dentists, lawyers, and most other professionals. Japanese students did not always know with whom they needed to make appointments. They knew appointments are important in business but did not know how to make one. If they were businesspeople, they would definitely need training in making business appointments in the United States.

The students suggested correct arrival times for business appointments but not for social appointments. Some students thought that they should go to a dinner earlier or later than the correct time.

If they had missed an appointment or were even a little late, most of the students would have apologized. However, most of the students would only call when they were half an hour late. In some cases, like a business appointment or job interview, punctuality is crucial and even a small delay may be serious.

The Japanese students did not know when Americans are particularly strict with time—in business appointments and certain social engagements. At those times, being late may cause problems.

In this section, Japanese students said they would be very punctual. However, according to my observations, many were not punctual, particularly for social engagements such as dinners and personal appointments. Some of them did not even apologize for being late. Their assumptions about time may cause them trouble with Americans.

IV. Measurements. Since the Test of American Culture showed that all Japanese students, both those in Japan and those in the United States, had serious problems with measurements, this section was included.

In this section, I tested how well Japanese students understand the system of measurement used in the United States. Test items were in the fields of liquid volume (gallon, quart, pint, and cup), length (mile, yard, foot, and inch), area (acre), weight (pound and ounce), and temperature (Fahrenheit). Japanese students were evaluated based on three criteria: first, whether they knew such units; second, whether they understood the units; and third, whether they knew the relation of those units to the units that they commonly used (the metric system).

The results of Part A are summarized in two tables. Table 4 shows the results for the first criterion: how many students could recall how many names of units.

TABLE 4
NUMBER OF NAMES OF UNITS THE JAPANESE STUDENTS COULD RECALL

	Number of Units				
	0	1	2	3	4
Liquid Volume	4	13	3	0	0
Length	1	1	2	7	9
Area	10	10	/	/	/
Weight	0	15	5	/	/
Temperature	4	16	/	/	/

Table 5 shows the results for the second criterion: how well students understand the units. Recall of names does not necessarily imply understanding. For example, 16 students recalled the word "gallon," but only 3 know how much it was. The method used in the test was conversion to the metric system; figures very close to the correct answer were accepted.

The results of Part B were obtained mainly from the third criterion, the ability to equate American and Japanese units. Some questions were about relations between two units. The results are shown in Table 5.

The interviews revealed that length posed the fewest problems. Table 4 shows that 9 could recall all four names, and 7 recalled three. Among these four units, Table 5 shows that the most students recalled "inch," then "foot," "mile," and last "yard." However, an equal number could

TABLE 5
FREQUENCY OF RECALL OF UNITS OF MEASUREMENTS

	Number of Students Who		
	Named and Identified the Unit	Named but Did Not Identify the Unit	Did Not Name the Unit
Liquid Volume			
Gallon	3	13	4
Quart		2	18
Pint		1	19
Cup			20
Length			
Mile	14	2	4
Yard	6	6	8
Foot	12	4	4
Inch	14	4	2
Area			
Acre		10	10
Weight			
Pound	9	11	
Ounce	1	4	15
Temperature			
Fahrenheit	8	8	4

identify "inch" and "foot." Table 5 shows that they understood the relation between "foot" and "inch" well but not between "foot" and "yard" (B, Nos. 4 and 5).

The Japanese students did not have much trouble with weight either. All the students recalled "pound" and "ounce" (B, No. 1). They understood "pound" but not "ounce."

In contrast with length and weight, they had a great deal of trouble in the other fields: liquid volume, area, and temperature. In liquid volume, gallon was the best known, and 16 recalled it. No one understood the other units or recalled "cup." Only 9 students understood the relations between "cup" and "quart" and between "pint" and "gallon" (B, Nos.

and 3). Even though gallon was the best known, only 3 understood the quantity it represented. The units of liquid volume were not well known.

Area was another serious problem for the students. Half of them recalled "acre," but nobody understood how large it was.

Surprisingly, 4 students did not know how Fahrenheit was used in the United States. Eight students knew the freezing point in Fahrenheit. Fewer than half knew how to convert Fahrenheit into centigrade. It was not easy for them to convert Fahrenheit into centigrade, even roughly.

As a group, the Japanese students did not understand the units in measurement well. Only a few understood even the best known units—mile, foot, inch, pound, and gallon—well; and even these few did not understand them well enough. Since people living in the United States encounter these units in daily life, they need to have at least some idea of what each unit represents. Many Japanese people in the United States may encounter trouble if they are not familiar with units of measurement.

V. Clothes. Wearing the right clothes in business, academic and social situations is important. Students should know what is expected of them.

Table 6 shows the kinds of clothes that Japanese students said they would wear in the situations given in Part A.

At a hotel or a restaurant, students would wear informal and casual clothes. Sixteen thought that blue jeans were appropriate to wear in a hotel, but only 2 thought so in a restaurant. All the women answered that they would wear slacks in both places, but only 2 of the men would wear ties. Nobody took into account the differences in hotels, but some students thought that restaurants were generally more formal than hotels. The students were thinking of different levels of hotels and restaurants, and some were considering only fancy restaurants.

All the Japanese students were familiar with clothes on college campuses and knew that people can wear casual clothes there. All the

TABLE 6
WHAT TO WEAR

	Dress Up			Good Clothes			Informal			Casual			Other			Do Not Know		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Hotel and Restaurant	0	1	1	3	4	7	2	4	6	4	1	5				1	0	1
School										10	10	20						
Business	6	10	16	4	0	4												
Party at a Friend's	2	2	4	3	4	7	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	1	4	0	1	1
Date	0	1	1	3	1	4	3	5	8	2	2	4	2	1	3			
Movie	0	1	1	2	1	3	2	4	6	6	3	9				0	1	1
Eat Out	3	4	7	6	1	7	0	3	3	1	1	2				1	0	1
Theater	1	1	2	4	3	7	2	3	5	3	2	5				0	1	1
Campus							1	3	4	8	6	14				1	1	2

F = Females
M = Males
T = Total

students considered blue jeans appropriate for campus.

However, on business 16 students would dress up, and 4 would wear at least good clothes. For a question about a businessman visiting a manager, 7 students did not realize the variety of business clothes and chose only the most formal clothing, and 3 would dress too casually (B, No. 2). On such an occasion, 17 students felt they should wear a tie, but only 8 saw the need for a suit (A, No. 3). Just 2 answered that women should wear suits, although 8 considered suits preferable. Seven students said that women should not wear slacks, and 12 answered that pantsuits were acceptable. On the whole, Japanese students would not have serious problems with clothes for business appointments, but in this study they did reveal an incomplete understanding of the subject.

For a party at a friend's house, 4 would dress up; 7 would wear good clothes; 2, informal clothes; and 2, casual clothes. Three said their clothes depended on the kind of party. If the students did not know what to wear to a party, 14 would ask the host, but the others would simply wear formal clothes (B, No. 5).

In the winter, 13 students would wear light-weight clothes and a thick coat. Sixteen students were aware of the heating practices in American buildings. Fifteen students thought they would need a thick coat; 4, very warm underwear; and 6, heavy sweaters. The students had little sense of color, with 3 even choosing light-colored clothes for the winter (B, No. 4). Although some of the students knew little about proper winter clothing for the United States, most had an adequate understanding.

Table 6 also shows choice of clothes on a date. Here most of the students would choose informal or casual clothes. They would be most formal when eating out and quite informal on campus or at a movie at night. A few students did not have any idea of what clothes to wear on a date.

In the United States, clothes are more informal than in Japan, but at certain times formality is important. All the students knew they should dress up for church, theaters (B, No. 2) and business. Many knew, too, they should dress up for some social events. However, they did not understand the levels of formality of social events well.

Some students confused the places demanding formality in dress with those where informality would be expected. At some fancy restaurants, people usually wear nice clothes, but 5 students chose casual clothes and 16 opted for blue jeans. In the hierarchy of restaurants, the top ones request men to wear ties and jackets. Most Japanese students did not know the different levels of restaurants, and many also were unaware of the two types of hotels, regular and resort, with the latter being very informal.

All the Japanese students were used to casual clothes on American college campuses. They would not have any trouble with clothes for school.

Most of the Japanese students seemed to be aware of the proper clothes on business, but some were a little too formal. Some students underestimated the importance of a manager, and so chose casual clothes.

In social activities, some occasions require certain types of clothes. Since there are a wider variety of social activities in the United States than in Japan, students have difficulty knowing the proper clothes to wear. For example, there are many kinds of parties, even among those given at friends' houses, but only 3 students were aware of this. At least 11 people would wear nice clothes to a party, which would usually be appropriate. However students who are used to informal clothes may have some trouble. If the students did not know what to wear, they would choose the more formal clothes. However, this could be easily overdone as in the case of a student's wearing a tie when visiting a friend at home. This error is less serious than that of dressing too casually because it is more easily corrected. Before students can understand what clothes to wear, they must understand the different kinds of social activities.

Since they did not understand social activities well, they had some problems with clothes on dates. Dating is one of the most important social activities among young people, and what to wear is usually carefully considered. However, none of the Japanese students knew how to choose the proper clothes for dates. Although dating dress is becoming somewhat more formal, clothing still leans toward the casual.

As previously noted, most of the students were fairly knowledgeable about winter clothes. Heating is very good in the United States, so only lightweight clothing need be worn inside buildings. Still, a few students did not know this and so chose heavy underwear and sweaters; a few also chose light- rather than dark-colored clothing.

By and large, in the area of clothing, the greatest need for Japanese people is for more information on appropriate clothes for different social activities. Wearing clothes that are too formal or too casual on social occasions may cause embarrassment, especially for Japanese people, who are more conscious of fitting into the group.

VI. Education. This section is concerned not only with education itself but also with college life in general in the United States. It indicates how well Japanese students are adjusting to living on college campuses.

All the students could describe the differences between American and Japanese college education. They pointed out that in the United States teachers are very friendly (6 students), discussion in the classroom is common (5), education is classroom oriented (3), classes demand a great deal of fundamental information and research (3), the instruction utilizes many teaching materials (3), and it is practical (2), logical (2) and individualized (2). No one mentioned the philosophy of education, the grading system, the methods of research, or the social aspects of education.

If students had problems with their roommates, 8 would talk with them, 5 would make a complaint, 4 would ask somebody else to solve the problems, and 3 would do nothing about the problems. If they could not solve the problems with their roommates, 15 would leave the room, 2 would quarrel, and 3 would still ignore the problems.

The ways they would maintain friendship with Americans were studying together or talking about classes (6 students), having friendly conversations with Americans (7), eating together (5), drinking together (2), not interfering with the other's privacy (2), and calling on the phone (1).

To find an apartment, the students would examine newspapers (9 students), go to the housing office (3), seek help or advice and look around (4); 3 students did not have any knowledge about a lease, and only 2 knew they had to read a contract carefully. Only 4 knew that there were furnished and unfurnished apartments. Just 4 had some idea of rent practices and rates. When those four were asked how much rent they probably would have to pay if they lived alone, they responded with $50 (1), $100 (2), and $150 (1). (Between $100 and $150 would have been necessary.)

It is important for Japanese students who study in the United States to understand American education. All the students knew some of the differences between American and Japanese education, and they knew how their work would be evaluated (B, No. 2). The concepts they had were right but did not include anything on philosophy, grading system, and social life.

They still did not know how to handle certain situations. For example, two students expected to solve their serious problems with classwork by themselves; they hesitated to ask the teacher (B, No. 3). In discussion, 5 students would keep silent if they lacked confidence. If they did not understand the class, 2 students would try to gain the needed knowledge through books and one would just ignore the problem. Only one knew what the term "office hours" meant. Many students were too formal with professors, and 13 thought they would need an appointment in order to see their own teachers and did not realize that office hours were another possibility for meeting with them. As for exams, four of the students would take an exam even if they were seriously ill. Ignorance in situations like these could create problems for students in classes.

If Japanese people have problems with other people, it is hard for them to talk frankly about the problems; 4 students would ask somebody else to solve them, and 3 would ignore the problems. Frank talk will often solve problems, and only after making a good effort themselves should students ask somebody else to help, though the students must realize that Americans don't normally like to be asked to intervene in other people's relationships. However, just leaving a problem may make it bigger.

The ways students would maintain good friendship with Americans seemed very good. It is important not to interfere with another's privacy, as one student pointed out. Japanese people do not understand privacy well, and once they are sufficiently acquainted with others, they often interfere with their privacy without intending to.

It seemed that these Japanese students would have had difficulty with living in an apartment, even though they knew how to find one. The reasons were that they did not know the types of places they could live in, what kinds of apartments existed, or what a lease meant. Only a few paid attention to a contract. They did not even know that there are furnished and unfurnished apartments. They did not know what deposit was required, the range of rent to expect, and what to expect regarding leases.

Even though many Japanese students knew some of the differences in education between the two countries, they still did not know well how to participate in classes and discussions, to solve problems, and to maintain good relationships with teachers. They had some idea about how to make friends and maintain friendships, but their ideas were somewhat incomplete. There are still other methods of making friends, such as attending social activities, which no one pointed out. They did not have sufficient knowledge of living and studying in the United States to do so with minimum difficulty.

VII. Transportation. Once students arrive in the United States, transportation, both between and within cities, is necessary. In this section, I asked students about how they would make use of inter- and intraurban transportation.

Between major cities students said they would travel by airplane (11), bus (8), and train (1). Four students chose the bus because they wanted to see more of the scenery. Those who chose to go by bus and train thought that such transportation was much cheaper than airplane—less than half price. Nobody chose to travel by rent-a-car or car, and the students did not know how expensive a rent-a-car was. For long trips, their preferences were airplane (13), bus (5), car (1), and train (1) (B, No. 1). However, for short distances, the order of preferences was bus (12), train (3), car (5), and airplane (0) (B, No. 2).

Only 9 students knew that the cheapest way to travel might be by riding with someone in a car and sharing the costs (B, No. 3). Only 8 knew the baggage-weight limit of buses and trains (B, No. 4).

Many students thought that city buses were as convenient as those in Japan. In major cities, their order of preferences was city bus (15), walking (2), taxi cab (1), car (1), and rent-a-car (1). From an airport to a hotel downtown, 6 said they would take a city bus, not realizing that it is usually unavailable there (B, No. 5). Even if a bus is available, a limousine is more convenient. If they needed to visit many places, 10 students would take a city bus and 3 students would try to go to the suburbs by city bus (B, No. 7).

In certain large cities such as New York and Chicago, the subway is very convenient, but only 7 students chose it. The others chose a bus. Five students did not have any idea.

In small cities, they would travel by bus (13), by taxi (9), by rent-a-car (4), on foot (2), and by streetcar (1).

Since all the students had traveled in the United States before the interview, they already had some idea of what traveling is like there, particularly for a long-distance trip. Most of them knew they should travel by airplane between major cities. Many of them thought that buses and trains were cheaper, but this is not necessarily true if the costs of night accommodations and meals are counted. None of them knew how inconvenient trains were in the United States. There are only about two trains a day between big cities except on the East Coast. For short trips, many would depend on public transportation for such trips. Not many knew how to make an economical trip by arranging for a ride.

In traveling, short-distance trips from airports to the city and from place to place in a city are as important as long-distance trips. For city travel, 6 chose a taxicab, but this might be very expensive; 5 chose a city bus, but this would not always be available in commuting from an airport to the city.

Many students thought that city transportation in large cities in the United States would be as convenient as that in Japan. It is not convenient, and it is difficult to find the right bus or to change buses in order to reach one's destination. The bus service is also limited in certain areas of the cities.

In Japan it is not customary to ask somebody for a ride. Thus, 4 students would try to visit their friends in the suburbs by themselves. In the United States, people can ask for a ride unless there is good public transportation.

The Japanese students did not understand the importance of having their own transportation in the United States. Except in very crowded cities such as New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, the best way to travel is by car. American cities are geographically too large for walking. Taking a taxi is often too expensive, and other forms of public transportation are usually inconvenient. Small cities may not even have public transportation. In cities like New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, public transportation is well developed, particularly the subways. The cities have traffic problems, so the best way to move around there is by subway or bus. Few students knew this. If the subway and bus are not convenient, then a taxi would probably be better. Since many businesspeople visit such large cities, they should have some knowledge of transportation in the cities they visit.

In a small town, students would still depend on buses. However, very small cities do not have any public transportation; therefore, if students have to visit several places, a rent-a-car or private car would be most convenient. If they want to visit only one place at a long distance, the best way is to ask someone for a ride. One student chose a streetcar, but he probably would not be able to find one except in a few places.

The Japanese students needed to have some idea of transportation in cities; however, they did not know how to travel in and around cities of different sizes. They did not know how to choose the most convenient and economical way to travel. They often guessed, based on their knowledge of Japanese public transportation. Their main problem was that they did not understand the importance of individual transportation and the inconvenience of public transportation.

VIII. Communication. Using the communication systems in the United States is important for people living there. Japanese need to know how to use the postal system, the telephone, etc.

Few of the Japanese students were knowledgeable about long-distance calls. Only 8 students knew how to call an operator on the phone. Only 6 students could give directions for making some types of long-distance calls; 5 could give one step; and 9, none. Seven of the 20 students knew the cheapest times to make long-distance calls; however, 15 did know how to make a local call on public and private phones.

Almost none of the students were well informed about telegrams. Only one knew what Western Union was. No one knew the types of telegrams.

Communication is very important, particularly for businesspeople. However, it is not always easy to communicate, especially on an economical basis. I met one Japanese wife who had been in the United States for more than one year and did not know the cheapest time to call long distance.

Most students (19) knew that the telephone was the fastest and most convenient communication system in the United States; however, only a few could use it well.

Many students could not make long-distance calls. Eight students did not even know how to call an operator. No one knew all four of the types of service—direct dial, station-to-station, person-to-person, and collect—and 9 did not know the differences among them. Only one knew what the different rates are, when the cheapest times to call are, and what the WATTS line and toll-free numbers are. Based on these responses, 7 students would probably have a great deal of trouble making long distance calls, 3 would need a little help, and 10 would be unable to call long distance at all.

Not many students had trouble making local calls. However, no students knew they could make local calls free from private phones or knew how to use Directory Assistance or Information numbers.

Almost none had any idea of how to send telegrams. Thirteen students thought that they could send a telegram at a post office (B, No. 5).

They had little understanding of postal rates either. Only 3 knew that book rate is the cheapest, and 4 were not even aware of the differences in rates (B, No. 4).

In summary, many of the Japanese students did not know how to use the telephone well. They did not know how to use it most economically, which can be very important. All Japanese people in the United States should know some of the principles of the United States communication systems as well as where they can get more information. However, many of them could not reach an operator or use a telephone directory well. Since telephones, in particular, cause problems, students definitely need some assistance and training.

IX. Manners. Manners are important in any country, and they differ from one society to another. This section was designed to check how well Japanese students understood American manners.

If the Japanese students received an invitation for dinner, 19 said they would accept or reject it immediately. When they went to dinner, 6 would dress up, 4 would wear neat and clean clothes, 2 would wear casual clothes, and the others would not care about what they wore. Seven students would go to dinner before the agreed-on time, 9 at the exact time, and 4 would arrive late. Only 4 students would thank the host or hostess for the invitation when they arrived for the dinner. Nine would bring a gift for the family, and 1 would bring a gift for each member of the family. Before a meal, they would drink a cocktail (2), coffee or tea (4), wine (3), and a soft drink (4). When they were in the dining room, 4 would sit down when the other people there did, but 6 would just sit down wherever they found chairs. Some people would ask where to sit if they did not know, but the rest would sit wherever they liked. Only 2 students knew they should ask for a second portion or helping if they wanted one, 6 would refrain from taking one, and 5 would accept it (if the hostess offered it). Four would leave one hour after the meal; 1, two hours afterward; and 10, when the others left. Only 5 would verbally show appreciation to the host and hostess immediately after the dinner, 7 would call the host and hostess later to express thanks, and 9 would send a thank-you note.

All the students said they would follow the same rules of manners and customs when they were invited to someone's home for a weekend.

Most students were familiar with some rules of table manners, and 9 students pointed out more than three; 6 gave three; 3, two; and 1, just one. The rules they pointed out included avoiding disrupting the atmosphere by noisy behavior, making noises with the mouth or silverware (18), using silverware in the right manner (10), not resting the elbows on the table (7), placing the napkin on one's lap and not refolding it after the meal (4), passing food (3), pulling the chair close enough to the table (2), not standing up during the meal (2), and not smoking during the meal (2).

The students' knowledge of table settings is summarized in Table 7.

TABLE 7
SETTING A TABLE

	5	4	3	2	1
position:	right	near	right	wrong	none
manner:	right	right	wrong	—	—
Place mat	5				15
Plate	15				5
Napkin	9	2	8		1
Salad fork	4	14	1		1
Fork	13		4	2	1
Knife	15	1	3	1	
Teaspoon	5	3	9	2	1
Salad plate	1			3	16
Glass	8	3	5	3	1

In order to determine how well the students understood where and how objects are placed, they were given a 5 for the right position, in the right manner; a 4 for a near right position and in the right manner; a 3 for the right position but in the wrong manner; a 2 for the wrong position; and a 1 for wrong position and wrong manner. For example, a student would receive a 3 for placing the knife on the right side of the plate (position) with the blade turned in the wrong direction (manner).

Many students did not know the rules for making introductions. Only 4 knew two rules; 9, one rule; and 7, none. The thirteen students knew the order of introductions by age—the younger introduced to older first—and 4 knew the order by sex—men introduced to women first.

Most students had only a slight idea of what to do when invited for a dinner or a weekend. Many hints had to be given to elicit a response. The students were unsure of the correct behavior because in their own country they do not have the social custom of inviting people for dinner at home and because they do not have any idea of what American family meals are like.

Students did not know there were both informal and formal dinners at home, knowledge that is helpful in deciding what to wear, whether to bring a gift, etc. Since Americans are very punctual for dinners, guests should not be late. Many students mistakenly thought they were under an obligation to bring a gift so preferred not to accept an invitation if they did not have a gift to bring. They did not know about the custom of conversation in the living room before dinner. They did not know how seats are assigned around the table, and some would choose one by themselves. A few knew where the host and hostess sat, but no one knew the whole rule. The students did not know about the eating habits of Americans. They did not know when to eat, what to eat, or how much to eat. Some felt obliged to eat food that they did not like as if they did (B, No. 5). They knew some table manners but not many. Obviously, poor manners could cause embarrassment and discomfort at the dinner table. None of the students questioned knew what could happen or what they should and should not do if invited to an American home for a weekend.

It would be very difficult for them to be a good host or hostess. While the students knew how to invite people and knew that couples were expected to participate in social activities, such as dinners and parties (B, Nos. 1 and 2), they did not even know how to set a table well (Table 7) and did not have a clear idea about how to give a party.

Some of them were unaware of some fundamental social manners, like greetings and introductions. These are very important, especially since as foreigners in the United States, Japanese people have many occasions to greet and introduce people. Therefore, some basic rules need to be learned.

Almost all the Japanese students were ignorant of American manners. Manners are still very important in certain levels of society, particularly in business. Since Japanese students and businesspeople may have opportunities to join in many social activities, they should learn social manners. Americans tend to expect foreigners to follow American manners just as they expect them to speak English, no matter how poorly, in the United States. Good manners will help the Japanese people conduct their business more easily and have less trouble in general in dealing with Americans.

X. Getting acquainted with Americans. Japanese as well as other foreigners have trouble mingling with Americans. While they are in the United States, it is important to make friends with Americans, or at least to get along with them. Certain rules and customs in American society must be followed. This section was designed to determine the extent to which Japanese students are aware of American rules and customs.

The Japanese students could not think of many good ways to make friends with Americans. Ten students listed only 1 way; 7, two ways; and 2, three ways. The ways they suggested were talking with them (8 students), visiting them (7), attending a party (5), joining a club (4), giving a gift (2), and attending church (1).

If they had a problem with American friends, they would talk with them (14), ignore the trouble (1), or ask others to solve it (2).

Students would discuss family (13), hobbies (8), school (6), Japan (4) and everything (8), with their American friends. None of the students knew the differences between topics that Japanese would like and those that Americans would like.

If Japanese girls were asked for a date by an American classmate, they would accept unconditionally (4), probably, if he was a "nice" person (3), or if he was "all right" (2), and not accept, regardless of the kind of person (1). Four would answer immediately and 6 later. If the person was somebody they did not like, 6 would neither refuse nor accept, and 4 would refuse.

To maintain friendships with Americans, Japanese students would call them on the phone sometimes (5), go shopping together (1), not interfere with their privacy (1), study together (1), be punctual (1), and avoid creating any financial problems with them (1).

If they attended a party, they would talk a good deal (16), try to enjoy the party (3), show that they were enjoying the party (3), help the host and hostess (3), and call them later to express appreciation (2).

Since Americans are more independent, Japanese have trouble making friends. In Japan, people belong to certain groups and automatically make friends within the group, but in the United States, individual effort is more important.

The students' methods of making friends seemed very good but too limited. There are many social activities besides parties. There are many social places that were not mentioned by the students, such as bars, night clubs, discotheques, etc. Many people give their own parties. Social clubs and churches are also good places to meet people, and they often sponsor activities, too. Some Japanese people are very conservative and hesitate to try anything new. Others would not go to parties unless asked by friends, in which case they would try to stay with them rather than mingle (B, Nos. 1 and 2).

When students have trouble with Americans, sincere, frank talk helps solve the problem. However, it is hard for Japanese people to talk directly to others; instead, they just ignore the problem or ask somebody else to talk to their friends. None of the students pointed out that when they do talk to American friends about a problem in their relationship, analytical and clear reasoning are very important.

In America, conversation topics can include more personal matters than in Japan. A major difference in the nature of conversation in the United States and in Japan is that Americans reveal more of their private self and talk more about personal matters than do the Japanese. A difference no student pointed out was that Americans like to talk on a very personal level. At the same time, what Americans consider too personal for general discussion is different from what Japanese consider too personal. For example, plans for having children is a very personal topic for Americans, but not for Japanese. However, Japanese do not like to interfere with a person's privacy or to have others interfere with their own. Americans are more fond of discussions than are the Japanese, and they like to openly express their opinions and hear the opinions of others—another difference that nobody pointed out. The topics suggested by the students were all right. "Japan" is an interesting topic to Americans, but it is important to draw on the favorites, such as sports and activities in which they are involved or interested. Surprisingly, no one pointed out weather as a conversation topic.

Dating is a very important social activity in the United States. However, Japanese people are not familiar with it. Most of the Japanese girls showed a willingness to date Americans. Some of the girls who had dated did not enjoy themselves, because they did not know certain dating customs. In dating, men still usually take the initiative, but the Japanese men did not know how to arrange a date at all. Of course, they did not know the "do's and don'ts" of dating.

The ways that students suggested for maintaining a friendship with Americans seemed satisfactory but could have included such things as jokes, flattery, and compliments. In casual conversations, students should comment only positively; that is, if they dislike the speaker's car, clothes, cooking, etc., it is better to say nothing than to comment negatively.

If the students attended a party, they said they would try to be active. This is a somewhat unexpected response since at parties most Japanese people usually collect in a corner of the room, or if they do talk to others, they remain with the same small group of people all the time. They apparently understand what is expected of them, but they may feel uncomfortable doing it.

In addition to parties, the students said they would also try to make friends in classes (B, No. 5), and other places (B, Nos. 3 and 4).

Even though their knowledge of the different methods of getting along with Americans was rather limited, most Japanese students knew the principles of getting acquainted with Americans; they knew how to make friends, how to maintain the friendship, and how to solve problems in relationships. The question is whether they can and do *apply* the principles.

Conclusion

The responses to the Test of American Culture showed that Japanese students in Japan did not understand many aspects of American culture, including daily life, practical information, and covert culture. This indicates that Japanese students will encounter many cultural problems after coming to the United States.

In order to find out what kinds of cultural problems they actually do encounter, I interviewed ten male and ten female incoming Japanese students at a large Midwestern university. The interview had ten sections: (1) nonverbal communication, (2) money, (3) time, (4) measurements, (5) clothes, (6) education, (7) transportation, (8) communication, (9) manners, and (10) getting acquainted with Americans. This interview was practically oriented; questions were based on the usefulness of the information in the United States.

The results of the first section indicated that the Japanese students did not know many American gestures. They knew only the ones most frequently used, because they had learned little about American nonverbal communication in Japan. However, they had observed that, in comparison with the Japanese, Americans use more nonverbal communication, express more of their emotions, and hold more friendly and informal attitudes that are helpful in establishing good human relationships.

Japanese students had some understanding of American coins and bills, but most of them could not manage money well. They did not know very well how to find night accommodations, particularly inexpensive ones. They did not understand the value of the American dollar and could not estimate hotel and food costs. They did not understand tipping customs well, other than knowing that they should tip at restaurants. Checks are not normally used in Japan, so the students did not know how to use them or what to pay attention to in using them. Only a few knew any money-saving methods of shipping, mostly ways that would be applicable in Japan.

Americans are supposed to be very punctual, and time is quite important in American culture. The daily schedule, as concerns such matters as business hours and meal times, is almost the same in the United States as in Japan; however, some customs regarding time are different. Appointments are a good example. Many Japanese students had trouble making appointments. They did not understand when Americans were strict about time.

Japanese students had serious problems with the measurement system that Americans use. They understood length best, and then weight. They knew such words as "inch," "foot," "gallon," and "pound," but often did not have any understanding of the meaning even of the units that they knew.

Some Japanese students had trouble knowing what clothing to wear. The main cause of such problems was that they did not know the levels of formality of social events. They could select proper clothes for business and school but not for social activities with which they were not familiar. Even though heating practices here are different from those in Japan, most of the students knew what to wear in the winter.

Most of the students knew some of the differences between American and Japanese education; however, they seemed not to know much about the American philosophy and system of education, grading, methods of research, and social life. Some students could not suggest good ways to solve problems with roommates; however, they knew some good, if limited, methods of maintaining friendly relationships with Americans.

All the students lived in dormitories and had very little idea of how to live off campus, how to find places to live, what is important to know about renting or leasing an apartment, and how much it costs to live off campus.

The Japanese students applied their knowledge of transportation in Japan directly to America. They depended on public transportation and did not understand the importance of having a private car. They did not have accurate ideas about traveling, except between major cities. They did not understand the practice of sharing a ride or renting a car very well. They did not know how to travel conveniently and economically in and around cities or for short distances.

The Japanese students knew that the telephone was the best means of communication, but they did not know much about long-distance calls. They did not know how to make the most economical calls or even how to call the operator. However, they could make local calls satisfactorily. The telegraph and postal systems also gave them problems.

Social manners were one of the biggest problem areas the students encountered in the United States. There are many social activities that seldom, if ever, occur in Japan, so they are not familiar with them. They know some aspects of table manners but not enough overall etiquette to be a host or hostess and entertain people at dinner parties. They did not know table setting and table seating very well, so were faced with the possibility of being embarrassed. They had gaps in their knowledge about American dinner parties, other types of parties, and weekend visiting practices. They even had some trouble with manners needed for such daily routines as making introductions and greeting people.

They had some idea of how to make friends with Americans, how to get along with them, and how to solve problems that arise in friendships but did not understand very much about social activities, particularly dating. Since many people get acquainted with each other through such social activities in the United States, they should have more ideas about them.

In conclusion, the Japanese students were seriously lacking in practical information, and they were probably going to encounter some serious problems and waste money. This type of trouble is due to the differences in the social systems of Japan and the United States. The Japanese students often seemed to try to guess what to do and how to do it on the basis of how it is done in Japan, so wherever the American system was different, they had trouble. The main problems, then, are that the students did not know much about American social customs, levels of formality, and American value systems. Therefore, on certain occasions, they did not know how to behave properly. In addition, even when students knew what to do, they were not always able to act in accordance with American customs that they were familiar with. Instead, they just followed the rules of Japanese culture.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONS IN THE INTERVIEW

I. Nonverbal Communication

Part A

1. What American gestures do you know, and what do they mean? (at least three examples)
2. Which gestures are different from Japanese ones?
3. What kind of attitude do you take toward a waitress, a salesperson, a clerk, and a teacher? Do you take the same attitude toward all of them?
4. What do you think about American nonverbal communication, particularly American gestures and attitudes?

Part B

1. (making a ring with a forefinger and a thumb)
   a. OK b. money c. good luck d. God bless you.
2. (shrugging one's shoulders)
   a. I don't know. b. I am sorry. c. I beg your pardon.
   d. an important point
3. (crossing the fingers)
   a. money b. bad luck c. dirty things d. good luck
4. (rubbing one forefinger with the other at right angles)
   a. congratulations b. shame c. good luck d. bad luck
5. (uh-huh)
   a. yes b. no c. no good d. thank you
6. (huh-uh)
   a. yes b. no c. sure d. You're welcome.
7. (with the palm up, bending four fingers one or more times)
   a. Come here. b. Goodbye. c. Hello. d. I don't care.

II. Money

Part A

1. How do you find night accommodations in the United States? If you want to stay at a cheap night accommodations, what are some good places? How much per night should you budget to stay in a hotel?
2. Whom do you tip?
   Where do you tip?

How much do you tip for what services?

3. If you stay in the United States for a while, how do you keep your money safely?
4. What is important when you use personal checks? (at least three points)
5. What is important to remember about using checks?
   Which type of checking account do you have and why?
6. What things are important to know for economical shopping?
7. What do you do if you want to buy a shirt?
   Please explain the situation in detail.

Part B

1. A ten-cent coin is called a _____.
   a. dime b. nickel c. quarter d. penny
2. When you take a long trip, you carry _____.
   a. cash b. traveler's checks c. your own personal checks
   d. cashier's checks
3. If you have $1,000 in cash now and you do not need more than $200 in a month, where do you keep the remaining $800?
   a. at home b. at a post office c. in a savings account
   d. in a checking account
4. How much do you tip at a restaurant?
   a. 5% of the bill b. 15% of the bill c. 25% of the bill
   d. nothing
5. How much does a breakfast of two eggs, two slices of bacon, toast, a glass of orange juice, and a cup of coffee cost at a cafeteria?
   a. less than a dollar b. between a dollar and $1.50
   c. between $2 and $3 d. more than $3

III. Time

Part A

1. What is important in making an appointment with somebody in business?
   What do you have to do to make an appointment?
   If you miss the appointment, what do you do?
2. When are Americans strict about time?

Part B

1. Regular business hours at most commercial offices are _____.
   a. between 9 a.m. and 5 p.m. b. between 9 a.m. and 6 p.m.
   c. between 8 a.m. and 6 p.m. d. various hours
2. If you have an appointment with the manager of a company at 3 o'clock, you should be in his/her office by _____.
   a. 2:30 b. 2:50 c. 3:10 d. any time after 3:00
3. If you are invited to dinner at an American home at 6 o'clock, you should be there _____.
   a. by 5:45 b. at 6:00 c. between 5:45 and 6:15
   d. any time after 6:00
4. If you are planning to take an airplane, you should be at the airport by _____.
   a. the departure time b. 15 minutes before the departure time
   c. at least 30 minutes before the departure time
   d. an hour before the departure time
5. In general you do not need an appointment to see _____.
   a. a medical doctor b. a dentist
   c. an administrator of a college d. a pharmacist

IV. Measurement

Part A

1. How do Americans measure liquid?
2. How do Americans measure temperature?
3. How do Americans measure length?
4. How do Americans measure area?
6. How do Americans measure weight?

Part B

1. One pound equals _____ oz.
   a. 8 b. 12 c. 16 d. 20
2. One quart equals _____ cups.
   a. 2 b. 4 c. 6 d. 8
3. One gallon equals _____ pints.
   a. 2 b. 4 c. 6 d. 8
4. One foot equals _____ inches.
   a. 4 b. 10 c. 12 d. 15

5. One yard equals ____ feet.
a. 2 b. 3 c. 5 d. 10
6. One mile equals about ____ km.
a. 1 b. 1.2 c. 1.4 d. 1.6
7. The average body temperature is ____ °F.
a. 95.1 b. 98.6 c. 101.2 d. 103.4
8. The freezing point of water is ____ °F.
a. 22 b. 27 c. 32 d. 37
9. One acre is about ____ square meters.
a. 3,058 b. 3,715 c. 4,047 d. 5,011

V. Clothes

Part A

1. What kind of clothes do you wear when you go to a hotel or a restaurant? Do you wear jeans? Do you wear a tie? (man) Do you wear slacks? (woman)
2. What kind of clothes do you wear when you go to school?
3. What kind of clothes do you wear when you travel on business?
4. If you are invited to a party at your friend's house, what kind of clothes do you wear?
5. If you live anywhere in the United States during the winter (except the southern part), what kinds of clothes do you need?
6. If you have a date, how do you decide what to wear? to the movie in the evening? to eat dinner out? to go to the theater? on campus?

Part B

1. You dress up when ____.
a. you go to church or the theater b. you go shopping in a supermarket c. you go to school d. you are not at home
2. When a businessman visits a manager in a company, he wears ____.
a. a dark colored suit and narrow tie b. a suit or a sportcoat with a tie c. very casual (informal) clothes d. anything he likes
3. When men visit a friend at home, they wear ____.
a. a tie b. a suit and a tie c. anything that is neat and clean d. anything they like

4. Except in the southern United States, you wear _____ in the winter.
   a. thick underwear b. light clothes and a thick coat
   c. a couple of thick wool sweaters d. light-color clothes
5. If you are invited to dinner, but you do not know what to wear, _____.
   a. you wear formal clothes b. you wear informal clothes
   c. you ask the host what to wear d. you wear informal clothes and bring formal clothes

VI. Education

Part A

1. What are some differences between American and Japanese college education?
2. What do you do if you have trouble with your roommate? (for example, making noise or bringing friends over)
3. How do you try to make friends at universities?
4. How do you find an apartment and what is important to know?

Part B

1. Your level of education is evaluated by _____.
   a. grade-point average b. number of credits c. how long you have been to school d. how many schools you have attended
2. A college instructor usually counts _____ for the grades in a small class.
   a. only papers and exams b. only exams and projects
   c. attendance d. everything, including exams, papers, projects, participation in discussions, attendance, etc.
3. If you have a serious problems in class, you should _____.
   a. try to solve it by yourself b. ask your classmate to help
   c. ask your friend to help d. talk with the teacher
4. When you attend a discussion, _____ if you do not have confidence.
   a. you keep silent b. you talk only about things you know well
   c. you agree with somebody who has a good opinion d. you try to talk as much as you can as well as listen to others well
5. If you do not understand what a teacher explains in class, _____.
   a. you ask him/her to explain it again b. you ask your classmate about it later c. you read books later and find it out d. you just ignore it

6. You should hand in a paper ____.
   a. a couple of days before the deadline b. any time before the deadline c. anytime before the semester ends d. within three days after the deadline
7. If you want to talk to your teacher, ____.
   a. you visit him/her at home b. you just go to his/her office c. you go to his/her office during office hours d. you call and make an appointment
8. If you are seriously ill on an exam day, ____.
   a. you still take the exam b. you call the teacher and explain c. you tell the teacher later d. you just forget the exam

VII. Transportation

Part A

1. Explain how you travel between cities.
2. Explain how you travel in a large city.
3. Explain how you travel in cities like New York, Chicago, and San Francisco.
4. Explain how you travel in a small city.

Part B

1. If you make a long-distance trip (more than 1,000 miles), how do you travel?
   a. by train b. by bus c. by car d. by airplane
2. If you make a short trip (less than 100 miles), how do you travel?
   a. by bus b. by train c. by car d. by airplane
3. The cheapest way to travel for a long distance is ____.
   a. by bus b. by train c. by airplane d. to ride with somebody else and share the expenses
4. What is the weight limit for checked baggage on a bus or train?
   a. 50 pounds b. 150 pounds c. 250 pounds
   d. unlimited
5. If you go to a downtown hotel from the airport, you take ____.
   a. a taxi b. a city bus c. a rent-a-car
   d. a limousine and a taxi

6. If you have to visit many places in major cities other than New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, how do you travel?
   a. by taxi b. by city bus c. by rent-a-car
   d. by limousine and taxi
7. The best way to get to your friend's house in the suburbs of a large city is ____.
   a. by city transportation b. by taxi c. by limousine and city transportation d. to ask your friend to come to pick you up

VIII. Communication

Part A

1. How do you make a long-distance call from a public phone?
   What kind of call would you make?
   If you are not in a hurry, when do you make a long-distance call?
   How do you make a local telephone call?
2. How do you send a telegram?
   What kinds of telegrams are there?

Part B

1. ____ rate is the cheapest long-distance call.
   a. Day b. Evening c. Night d. Weekend
2. If you want to make the cheapest telephone call from the West coast to a company in New York, when is the best time?
   a. 7 a.m. b. 10 a.m. c. 3 p.m. d. 6 p.m.
3. ____ is the cheapest phone rate.
   a. Direct dial b. Station-to-station c. Person-to-person
   d. Collect
4. What is the cheapest postal rate for packages?
   a. books b. printed matter c. parcel post d. the same
5. Where do you send a telegram?
   a. at a post office b. at Western Union c. at a bank
   d. at a bus station
6. What is the fastest and most convenient communication system?
   a. telephone b. telegram c. special delivery
   d. regular mail

IX. Manners

Part A

1. What do you do if someone invites you to dinner at their home? Please describe that situation.
2. What do you do if you are invited to an American home for a weekend?
3. What are important table manners? Please mention as many as possible.
4. How do you set the table?
5. How do you assign the seats at a table?
6. When you are at the table, what should you do and what should you not do?
7. How do you introduce people?

Part B

1. If you invite your friend to dinner informally, _____.
   a. you make the invitation by phone b. you send a card
   c. you send a telegram
   d. you visit him/her and make the invitation in person
2. If you want to invite somebody to a dinner, you invite _____.
   a. only him b. him and his wife
   c. him and his whole family d. no rule
3. If you are invited to a dinner, what should you do?
   a. check your schedule and answer as soon as possible
   b. go to dinner even if you do not want to
   c. just go there on time without giving any answer
   d. if you cannot go, you tell the host one day before, and if you can, you just go
4. If you are invited to an American home for dinner or for the weekend, you ought to _____.
   a. bring roses b. bring gifts c. do nothing special
   d. send a thank-you note later
5. If the food tastes terrible, you should _____.
   a. ask the hostess for something else to eat
   b. tell the hostess it is not good c. not comment on it
   d. try to eat a lot of it, as if it were good

6. When a man meets a woman for the first time, he ____.
   - a. extends his hand for a handshake
   - b. shakes hands if she extends her hand
   - c. smiles d. hugs her
7. When you introduce people, ____.
   - a. you introduce a man to a woman
   - b. you introduce a woman to a man
   - c. you introduce an older person to a younger person
   - d. no rule
8. If you eat with your right hand, you keep your left hand ____.
   - a. on the table b. beside the dish c. in your lap
   - d. anywhere you like
9. If you want to get more food, what do you do?
   - a. you try to reach the food, wherever it is
   - b. you ask the hostess to serve more
   - c. you ask the person nearest the dish for more
   - d. you just forget it if you cannot reach it
10. If you are asked whether you want coffee or tea by the host and you do not want either, what do you do?
    - a. you say you want either of them b. you say coffee
    - c. you just keep silent d. you say "no, thank you"

X. Getting Acquainted with Americans

Part A

1. If you live in a new place, how do you try to make friends?
2. If you have trouble with an American friend, how do you try to solve it?
3. When you talk with Americans, what kind of topics do you talk about?
4. If your classmate calls and asks for a date, what do you say?
5. If you want to date an American girl, how do you arrange that?
6. How do you try to maintain friendships with your American friends?
7. What do you try to do when you attend a party?

Part B

1. Do you attend a party in your dorm?
   a. I attend it if I am not occupied.
   b. I attend it if my friends go.
   c. I do not attend it unless somebody asks me.
   d. I do not attend it.
2. If you attend a dance party, _____.
   a. you sit aside and watch people
   b. you talk with people around yourself
   c. you stick to people you go with
   d. you talk to people and dance with them
3. If a stranger talks to you when you are eating in a cafeteria, _____.
   a. you just ignore him/her
   b. you try to talk to him/her as little as possible
   c. you try to enjoy a conversation with him/her
   d. you try to keep in contact with him/her later
4. What attitude do you try to take when you talk to a stranger?
   a. I try to be polite and friendly b. I try to be informal
   c. I try to be very formal d. nothing special
5. How do you get acquainted with your classmates?
   a. I go to class early and try to talk to them
   b. Whenever I have a chance, I talk to them
   c. I respond whenever they talk to me
   d. I do not pay any attention to them

BIBLIOGRAPHY:
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

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Introduction

This bibliography on intercultural communication has been compiled for teachers of English in Japan who are interested in this field and would like to study to improve their teaching of English to Japanese students. However, it is also designed for other people who are interested in this field for the purpose of broadening their knowledge.

In order to make the use of this bibliography easier, we classified the materials into the categories shown in the directory. (Some references are related to more than one subject area and therefore appear in more than one category.) Materials in each category are in alphabetical order by author.

This bibliography follows the style of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (3rd ed.). However, if the information is available, authors' or editors' first names are included for the convenience of those who need to use the MLA style sheet.

Many of the items listed in the bibliography are from primary sources. However, we included other items that we thought would be useful, even if we do not have access to them at this time. Those were taken from other bibliographies, and the first names of authors or editors may not be spelled out.

Also included are lists of books and journals frequently referred to in this bibliography. Call numbers from the Library of Congress system were included for items on these lists if they were available.

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